

FOIPA COVER SHEET

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)

BLACK EXTREMIST

100-448006

SECTION 21



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 8/21/70

ReWFOlet, 7/8/70.

In accordance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 3/4/68, the following data is submitted:

I. OPERATIONS UNDER DEVELOPMENT

It was recently determined by [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] further, that he is the man to see if anyone has a "hot" gun and wants to get rid of it.

[REDACTED]

WFO is considering passing along to the NRA the fact [REDACTED] is selling "hot" guns. This information, if passed, would be given to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who is a friend of [REDACTED] If passed in this manner, the Bureau's interest would remain confidential and there would be no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.

(2 - Bureau
1 - WFO

HGE:tdl
(3)

REC-33

EX-100

14 AUG 24 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

60 SEP 1 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly



Although the NRA has expelled few members, they have refused in the past to renew membership when derogatory information regarding members has been discovered. If, by the above means [REDACTED] membership expires, it would seriously hamper the firearms training program of the IUF.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

Since the Detroit Office was unable to determine the identity of [REDACTED] Detroit, Michigan, the operation under consideration regarding [REDACTED] [REDACTED] set out in referenced WFO letter, could not be put into effect.

The operation against the Center for Black Education continues in operation.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

No tangible results of the operations being effected in II above are as yet apparent.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF A COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

The operations of the Black Panther Party, Washington, D.C., are being closely followed to determine what counterintelligence action can be taken against them.

FBI

Date: 8/15/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Mohr | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Casper | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Gale | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Miss Holmes | _____ |
| Miss Gandy | _____ |

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, OMAHA (157-272)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
- RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Enclosed for the Bureau and San Francisco is one xerox copy each, of a proposed anonymous letter to be sent to DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party (BPP), Oakland, California. Also enclosed for the Bureau and San Francisco are two (2) copies of newspaper articles appearing in the morning and evening edition of the Omaha World Herald on 8/14/70. One copy of the article appearing in the Omaha World Herald entitled, "Panthers Cut Omaha Link" will also be sent with the anonymous letter, because of the statement that [REDACTED] makes, saying that there are individuals within the central committee who should be "purged" from the ranks" and his statement that the people of Omaha should make the decision on the expulsion not the National BPP.

The following is the background concerning the expulsion of the Omaha National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) Chapter:

On 7/15/70 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] appeared preparing an article for the newspaper which would instruct the BPP sympathizers not to associate with this person.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc.-3) (Registered Mail)
1 - San Francisco (Enc.-3) (Info) (RM)
2 - Omaha
DMH:dlf
(5)

AUG 25 1970

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Approved: PCY Special Agent in Charge
Sent _____ M Per _____

[REDACTED] informed [REDACTED] that the NCCF chapter in Omaha, Nebraska, was deactivated last week and they had been sent a letter to that effect. He instructed her to inform [REDACTED] to put a little box in the next issue of the BPP newspaper to this effect.

In the 7/25/70, issue of the BPP newspaper is the following article as appeared on page 9:

ATTENTION: [REDACTED]

The National headquarters of the Black Panther Party would like to inform the people that the National Committee to Combat Fascism in Omaha, Nebraska, is no longer functioning as an organizing bureau of the Black Panther Party, or from hereafter connected with the Black Panther Party in any way.

On 8/3/70, [REDACTED] advised that the members of the NCCF and Omaha, had not received any BPP newspapers in the last three or four weeks and were unaware that an article had appeared in the BPP newspaper stating that they were no longer functioning as part of the National BPP.

On 8/4/70, an anonymous phone call was made to NCCF headquarters advising them that an article addressed to [REDACTED] had appeared in the July 25 issue of the BPP newspaper, announcing the fact that the National BPP had advised its newspaper readers that the NCCF in Omaha was no longer a functioning bureau or connected with the party in any way. It appears that [REDACTED] misunderstood the telephone call. In a newspaper article appearing 8/14/70, in

OM 157-272

the Omaha World Herald, a daily Omaha, Nebraska, newspaper, states that a letter recently appeared in the BPP newspaper stating that the local NCCF was ending its affiliation with the panthers and that this letter was attributed to [REDACTED] and NCCF member, Raleigh House. [REDACTED] states that this letter was forged. [REDACTED] further stating that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It appears that [REDACTED] has not seen the article in the July 25 issue of the BPP newspaper and that he misunderstood the anonymous phone call. Due to the phone call, [REDACTED] believes that the letter was written stating that the NCCF in Omaha was ending its affiliation and he does not understand that the article was written by the staff of the BPP upon receipt of orders from [REDACTED]

Bureau authority is being requested to send a copy of the enclosed anonymous letter to the BPP headquarters. It is felt by the Omaha Division that [REDACTED] along with the Omaha NCCF, Kansas City NCCF, and St. Louis, Missouri BPP, will be discredited in the eyes of the National BPP by this letter and their misunderstanding concerning the expulsion of the Omaha Chapter.

The name [REDACTED] which appears on the enclosed letter is anonymous.

[REDACTED] is on the Omaha Security Index. [REDACTED] and is also on Omaha's Security Index.

Don't. Willard.

I am writing to you because I have in the DPP
the 16 point program. The NCCF in Omaha has not been relating
to the people in the West. Secondly. The word is out that
the DPP newspaper in July issue stated that the "Comm" were
was looked out of the party. [redacted] had been saying
in the colony that they have not been looked out of the party
but that the letter in the DPP saying "Comm" looked. [redacted]
has been saying to the people, that the guys in California
don't know what is the hell they are doing. In fact [redacted]
said the same thing to Whittier's newspaper the "San Francisco Herald".
I am sending you copies of this file to show you how [redacted]
thinks he is. [redacted] has been saying about how they person
is going to get every thing straight back in California especially
some of the head elements. I am sending this to you because
[redacted] said we in the party and I believe that [redacted]
are looking the whole thing.

...and the fact that the *Journal* is a journal of the American Psychological Association, the largest and most influential organization in the field of psychology, adds to the journal's prestige and makes it a must-read for all psychologists.

[illegible][illegible]

10. The Commission has been informed that the Government of the Republic of the Philippines has agreed to accept the findings and recommendations of the Commission in the case of the late President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

[illegible]

Members of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation, including the President, are hereby notified that the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation has adopted the following resolution:

10
Mr. Donald
C. Hill, Nebraska
8-14-79
Gulfco

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

August 24, 1970

Airtel

1
1

To: SAC, Omaha (157-272)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1932

EX-100 REC-15

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Reurairtel 8/15/70.

You are authorized to prepare and mail typewritten letter on plain bond paper as enclosed with reairtel. It is suggested you include several misspellings to make the letter appear more authentic. You are also authorized to include with such letter a copy of the article entitled "Panthers Cut Omaha Link" which appeared in the 8/14/70 edition of the "Omaha World Herald" newspaper. Take the usual security precautions to insure this letter and mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau.

Advise the Bureau and San Francisco of any positive results obtained by means of this letter.

1 - San Francisco (157-601)

LGB:sal/ek:
(6)

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

NOTE: Reairtel indicated [redacted] during 7/70 described [redacted]

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

[redacted] as a "pig" and liar. [redacted] subsequently instructed that an article be prepared for the BPP newspaper indicating the Omaha group was no longer part of the official BPP. This article appeared in the 7/25/70 edition of the BPP newspaper.

97 SEP 1 1970

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

9

Airtel to SAC, Omaha
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

Reairtel also advised article appeared in the 8/14/70 edition of the "Omaha World Herald" newspaper quoting [REDACTED] that the letter appearing in the 7/25/70 BPP newspaper was forged and that it should be up to the people of Omaha to decide whether they should be declared defunct and not BPP national headquarters. The article further quoted [REDACTED] as saying there are individuals within the Central Committee who should be purged from the ranks.

Omaha, as a counterintelligence measure, has proposed the preparation and mailing of a letter from one [REDACTED] an anonymous individual, to David Hilliard BPP Chief of Staff, Oakland, California. The letter relates [REDACTED] has been [REDACTED] that the letter in the BPP newspaper was forged, and another BPP member [REDACTED]

The letter indicates [REDACTED] has been telling this to "Whiteys newspaper" in Omaha and that a copy of [REDACTED] remarks appearing in an Omaha newspaper is enclosed.

This should be an excellent disruption technique.

FBI

Date: 8/17/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 8/14/70.

It is noted that under the name S.V.R.P., which allegedly stands for the Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party, Charlotte has been submitting a newsletter with the caption "News of Interest to the Black Citizens of Winston-Salem." This letter is written in the vein that it is a newsheet from a black group at Winston-Salem of a slightly higher caliber than the BPP group.

These letters have been primarily derogatory concerning the leadership. At the present time, the group is in financial difficulty and is pushing for donations in the black community, primarily from businesses, either black owned or with predominantly black trade. In this connection, Charlotte desires to institute the following plan, noting that it is to be aimed primarily at business and religious groups and is to be written in terms of a citizen or neighborhood organization with religious orientation.

The caption of this newsheet which is to be prepared and mailed in Winston-Salem will be "The Committee of Twenty-Five" and will read as follows:

- ② - Bureau (RM)
① - San Francisco (RM)
2 - Charlotte

THG:dh
(5)

EX-100
REC-75
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
CE 157-6109 (Priority)

The Committee of Twenty-Five was organized by responsible black people of East Winston and was formed in secret to avoid repression by the hoodlum element. Its reason for existence is to expose and destroy any group which is enslaving our people.

The chains of past slavery are almost gone; yet, a new master, Chinese-style Communism in the name of the Winston-Salem Committee to Combat Fascism, is now using the blood of our children to lead us back into slavery. The Black Panther Party which operates in Winston-Salem as the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism has the purpose of overthrowing the present system of Government by force, using our children as cannon fodder, dying for a godless, impossible, and unjust cause.

We want everyone to know that each time you pay 25 cents for a Black Panther newspaper, one half of this money goes to support Black Panther leadership in California and the rest to support those who prey upon us local people. A small amount of the money donated by well-intentioned but ill-informed people actually feeds children in the Panther breakfast program while a much larger part supports the local Black Panther leadership who then have no need to do honest work and can prey upon the local people. The rent, electricity, and food for a dozen people, even if they are going under the pretext of helping the community is quite an amount.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Transmit the following in _____
Via _____

F B I

Date: _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

(Priority)

CE 157-6109

If interested in improving the lot of the black people in East Winston, they could do much more good by working for better education, employment opportunities and such. They now, in fact, preach the Gospel of dropping out of school and "getting your education in the streets" which is not the way that we have made progress.

The Panthers publicly oppose our fathers, sons and daughters who fought in Korea and now Vietnam since they support the teachings of MAO TSE TUNG of Red China and KIM IL SUNG of North Korea who were the leaders of the enemy during the Korean War and support the North Vietnamese at the present time.

The Committee of Twenty-Five will from time to time point out these things to the people in our area. Due to our limited funds, we can do little but we hope that if other citizens are interested they will form similar groups in their immediate areas and will make contact with the Committee of Twenty-five in order that we may go forward together.

Charlotte proposes to prepare the above on unwatermarked, commercially-purchased blue or red paper, using inexpensive envelopes, not like those used by the SVRP projects in order they will not be connected.

On receipt of Bureau approval, approximately 200 copies will be mailed out to churches and businesses in the eastern half of Winston-Salem, N. C. It is hoped that this project will create enough opposition to the Panthers to cut down their funds and generate some type of community group in opposition.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

F B I

Date: _____

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

CE 157-6109

(Priority)

Upon receipt of Bureau approval, the operation will be carried out in such a manner as the Bureau will not be identified.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

14

8-21-70

Airtel

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To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6109)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) **1933**

EX-100

REC-15

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReCEairtel 8-17-70.

You are authorized to prepare and mail anonymous newsheet set forth in referenced airtel. Insure letter cannot be traced to the Bureau. Advise Bureau and interested offices of positive results achieved.

1 - San Francisco

JOI:bad (6)

NOTE:

Charlotte has been aggressive in its program to disrupt the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Winston-Salem. They have been submitting newsheets and anonymous letters attacking the leadership of the BPP in Winston-Salem. This group is having financial difficulty and is pushing for donations. A newsheet will be prepared and mailed to a group primarily of business and religious leaders in the black community entitled "The Committee of Twenty-Five." The newsheet also set out that this committee was organized by responsible black people and formed in secret to avoid repression by the hoodlum element. The BPP in

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Herman, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

97 SEP 1 1970
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

15

Airtel to SAC, Charlotte
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

Winston-Salem will be described as one using the children in the community for an unjust cause. The newsheet will point out that each time a citizen pays 25¢ for a Black Panther newspaper one-half of this amount goes to support the leadership in California and the remainder to support those who prey upon the local people. The Committee of Twenty-Five will from time to time point out certain things to the citizens such as the fact the BPP encourages young children to drop out of school and asking them to get their education in the streets. Charlotte intends to mail approximately 200 copies under usual precautions hoping to create enough opposition to the Panthers.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 8/24/70

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, WFO

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(Bufile 100-448006)
(WFOfile 157-1292) (P)

[REDACTED]
RM - BLACK UNITED FRONT
(OO: WFO)
(Bufile 157-16285)
(WFOfile 157-2752) (P)

ReWFOlet, 7/10/70.

[REDACTED] reported on 8/18/70, that subject, who is a [REDACTED] is reportedly handling and disposing of "hot" guns in Washington, D.C. [REDACTED] at the present time is serving as a [REDACTED]

It is believed that if this information is given to the [REDACTED] in that organization will not be renewed.

The NRA has in the past refused to renew membership applications when derogatory information regarding members has been brought to their attention.

(3 - Bureau
2 - WFO

HGE:tdl
(5)

REC-10

22 AUG 25 1970

EX-110

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OTHERWISE

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



[REDACTED] is acquainted with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is of the opinion this matter can be
brought to [REDACTED] attention and through [REDACTED] to
the appropriate official of the NRA without embarrassment
to the Bureau.

By giving this information to [REDACTED] the
Bureau need never become involved and its role in this
operation would be known to no one connected with NRA
except [REDACTED]

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

Bureau permission is requested to have [REDACTED]
contact [REDACTED] on a strictly confidential
basis and inform [REDACTED] of the activities of subject so
that [REDACTED] membership in the NRA is terminated, thus depriving
the [REDACTED]

No counterintelligence action will be initiated
without prior Bureau approval.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

8-1-70

1 -
1 -

airtel

ST-117
C-123

To: SAC, WFO (157-1292)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK UNITED FRONT)

ReWFOlet 8-24-70 with dual caption "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence; [REDACTED] RM - Black United Front."

There is some question as to whether depriving [REDACTED] of membership in the National Rifle Association (NRA) [REDACTED] from continuing to give training to Black United Front members in the use of firearms.

WFO determine whether cancellation or nonrenewal of [REDACTED] membership in the National Rifle Association would prohibit him from using the facilities of the [REDACTED]. If your sources do not have sufficient information, set forth necessary leads to ascertain more details concerning the [REDACTED] and its policies. Determine whether the [REDACTED] is a well-established organization or was formed for the specific benefit of the Black United Front. Leads to obtain the necessary information should be set forth under the caption of the Black United Front. Advise specific data to be given NRA.

Information that the subject is reportedly handling and disposing of "hot" guns in Washington, D.C. should be furnished local authorities and Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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OTHERWISE.

SEE NOTE - PAGE TWO

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
DeLoach, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

WCP:bcc
(5)

07 SEP 4 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

her
wfg

Airtel to SAC, WFO
Counterintelligence Program
Black Nationalist - Hate Groups
Racial Intelligence
(Black United Front)
100-448006

NOTE:

WFO recommended that through a personal friend of a Special Agent assigned WFO information could be brought to the attention of the National Rifle Association concerning [REDACTED] activities. WFO of opinion this would keep [REDACTED] from instructing BUF members in the use of firearms. Additional information is required before authorization will be given for such action.

FBI

Date: 8/11/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS;
BPP - RM

ReButel to Baltimore, 8/6/70.

Enclosed herewith are three counterintelligence proposals so numbered.

Proposal number one would be sent from NYC addressed to BPP headquarters in that city. It is hoped that this proposal would indicate to the BPP in NYC that HUEY NEWTON is considered an outsider and a leech and will not receive support even from those people who have been supporting the BPP because of duress or threats.

Proposal number two which purports to be a BPP press release would be mailed to social clubs, ethnic organizations and underground-type newspapers in the NYC area. It is hoped that this proposal would attribute a flippant and irreverent point of view to the BPP in their outlook upon other groups of people.

Proposal number three would be mailed from the San Francisco area of California to NYC. This proposal attempts to show that maybe NEWTON took part in a deal to obtain his release from prison and is working as a police agent seeking information on the NY BPP.

2- Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
1- New York (43)

JLL:tf
(4)
1- Supv. #43

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OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

21

NY 100-161140

No action on these proposals will be taken without
prior Bureau approval.

Proposal No. 1

Chief,
Black Panther Party,
New York City:

I would like to inform you that I have been approached for contributions from two members of your Party on last Friday, August 7, 1970.

These two men who identified themselves as collectors for the "Huey Newton Freedom Fund" demanded that I give them \$10.00 so that Huey Newton would have something to live on while in New York City.

Now I know that these two Black Panthers who approached me are the real thing because I have given them money before as well as buying your newspaper from them and giving them food for your breakfast program. I don't understand why I should contribute to a person who has never been active in your Party in New York City.

As far as I am concerned Huey Newton has not participated in any of the programs or activities of the New York Black Panthers and I have no intention of giving any money to support him and his crew in luxury.

I know you will threaten to fire bomb my store and run me out of Harlem because I am white but I have to make a stand somewhere and that stand is when you try and extort money from me to support some out of town hoodlum convict like Huey Newton.

I'll give to the guys I know but not to people who expect to live off of the works of others.

A Friend of the Panthers

Proposal No. 2

Black Panther Press Release

An official of the Black Panther Party in New York City announced today that the recent release from jail of Huey P. Newton, national leader of that group, came before it was possible to cancel orders for over 15,000 "Free Huey" buttons and posters.

"It looks like we're stuck with them", announced the aforementioned Panther official, "even though we offered them for free to the supporters of former President Johnson."

When quiriad about the difference in spellings of the first names of Newton and [REDACTED] the possible reason for the refusal of the offer of the free buttons and posters, the Panther official stated, "Most of those guineas can hardly read let alone spell. So what difference would that make".

Proposal No. 3

Brothers:

I am employed by the State of California and have on occasion been very close to Huey Newton while he was in jail.

Let me warn you that this pretty nigger may very well be working for pig Reagon as a spy. Just because some court sets Newton free does not mean that it was not really the idea of the State to do so.

I think you should know that I saw Newton rapping with several pigs who are high up in the State just before he was set free. The deal is to have Newton find out about the New York Panthers so the pigs can bust them for good.

Watch out if Newton starts asking a lot of questions about the New York Panthers - all you tell him will go to the pigs.

Power to the People

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

110

SAC, New York (100-161140)

8-24-70

EC 12

Director, FBI (100-448096) -

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COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurairtel 8-11-70.

You are authorized to prepare and mail anonymous letters No. 1 and No. 2 set forth in re airtel and anonymous letter No. 3 as revised by the Bureau and set forth below. Take usual precautions to insure letters cannot be traced to Bureau. Advise Bureau and interested offices of positive results achieved.

Your proposed anonymous letter No. 3 has been revised slightly by the Bureau to strengthen its authenticity and is set forth below:

"Brothers,

"I am employed by the State of California and have been close to Huey Newton while he was in jail.

"Let me warn you that this pretty nigger may very well be working for pig Reagan. I don't know why he was set free but I am suspicious. I got this idea because he had privileges in jail like the trustees get. He had a lot of privacy most prisoners don't get. I don't think all his private meetings were for sex. I am suspicious of him.

"Don't tell Newton too much if he starts asking you questions - it may go right back to the pigs.

Power to the People"

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

WEM:bcc
(6)

6 AUG 31 1970

MAILED 5

COMM-FBI

SEE NOTE - PAGE TWO

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TELETYPE UNIT ☐

26

Letter to SAC, New York

100-443006

Re: Counterintelligence Program
(Black Panther Party)

NOTE:

Huey Newton, Minister of Defense, and one of the founders of the extremely dangerous and violent BPP, was recently released from prison after his conviction for manslaughter (killing of a police officer), was upset on appeal. Newton is the spiritual father of the BPP who is venerated by BPP members along with Mao Tse-tung, Kim Il Sung, Che Guevara, and Fidel Castro. To demythicize Newton, to hold him up to ridicule, and to tarnish his image among BPP members can serve to weaken BPP solidarity and disrupt its revolutionary and violent aims. New York has submitted three excellent anonymous letters which, with some revisions, should have the 3-pronged effect of creating divisiveness among BPP members concerning Newton, treat him in a flippant and irreverent manner, and insinuate that he has been cooperating with police to gain his release from prison. Letter No. 1 is addressed to the New York City Panther office from an anonymous white businessman who has been contributing to the Panthers but who states his reasons for refusing to contribute to the support of Newton, who has announced he will set up headquarters in New York. Letter No. 2 purports to be a BPP press release to be mailed to ethnic organizations and underground-type newspapers indicating that the Panthers are stuck with 15,000 "Free Huey" posters and buttons now that Newton has been released from prison. The press release goes on to say that the posters were offered free to supporters of former [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The third letter, to be mailed from San Francisco to the New York Office, purports to be from a prison employee indicating Newton had cooperated with state authorities to effect his release. This letter has been slightly changed since New York's version did not appear too authentic.

* BPP

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

10 :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448096)

DATE: 8/24/70

FROM :

SAC, MIAMI (157-2414) (P)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS

Re Miami progress letter dated 5/28/70.

The Black Afro Militant Movement (BAMM) has become inactive since submission of referenced letter. The last meeting of that organization was held during June, 1970. The current inactivity of BAMM has left a void in militant black nationalist organizations within the Miami Division with the exception of the Nation of Islam.

Several persons have been added to Miami's Agitator Index since the submission of referenced letter. All but two of these additional Agitator Index subjects were placed on the index because of their activities in connection with BAMM. Of the other two, one, [REDACTED] and is not known to be connected with the organization. The other, [REDACTED] out

I. Operations Under Consideration

Because of the recent inactivity of BAMM and the present lack of militant black nationalist organizations in the Miami area, the Miami Division does not have any new counterintelligence operations under consideration.

② - Bureau (RM)
2 - Miami
JCM:nmm
(4)

REC-30

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE



SEP - 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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II. Operations Being Effected

The Miami Division is maintaining liaison with local authorities who are attempting to gather information which will result in the Grand Jury indictment for murder of several individuals who were connected with BAMM. This involves the murder of one of their associates which was committed prior to the formation of BAMM.

Miami also continues its aggressive interview program.

III. Tangible Results

It appears Miami's aggressive interview program, which is based on the identification of BAMM members or sympathizers by informants, has played a significant role in the apparent breakup of BAMM.

IV. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

None.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-443600)

DATE: 8/24/70

FROM : SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4512) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM;
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(AS THE PEOPLE) (PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY PARTY)

Re Memphis letter to Bureau 5/19/70.

FOUR-DAY PROGRESS LETTER:

At the present time, the only known black militant hate group within this division, the "Invaders," [REDACTED] has been reorganized into two branches, one known as the People led [REDACTED] and the other known as Peoples Revolutionary Party (PRP) [REDACTED]. The Invaders organization is now defunct.

The Memphis Office is making every effort to identify members of these two organizations and to determine the extent of their militant activities.

The black militant organization known as the People [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] in the activities of this group.

The Peoples Revolutionary Party [REDACTED] of this group.

At the present time, there are no counterintelligence activities being considered by the Memphis Office directed against these two organizations in view of the [REDACTED] on these organizations and in view of the fact that at the present time the Memphis Office has not identified all members of these two organizations.

REC 17

17-11*

It should be noted that the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] knowl. members of [REDACTED] both the People and the Peoples Revolutionary Party.

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OTHERWISE.



66 SEP 1 1970

100-4512 (P)

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100-1511

The Memphis office will continue to remain alert to any counterintelligence operations that will disrupt the activities of these two groups and the Bureau will be kept advised of all developments.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (100-894)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 8/26/70

ReSClet to Bureau, 5/28/70.

The overall black nationalist movement remains unchanged from the situation at the time of relet.

1) OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Black Panther Party (BPP) activities continue to be at an extremely low level in the Sacramento Division. Because of this, opportunities for counterintelligence measures are accordingly diminished. Nation of Islam activity is also extremely limited and along with the BPP has been unable to exercise significant influence on the Negro community. Therefore, no specific counterintelligence programs are under consideration at this time.

2) OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

None

3) TANGIBLE RESULTS

None

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

4) DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

None

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Sacramento
WGK:epg
(4)

REC-46

15 AUG 23 1970

RACIAL INT. SEC.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/25/70

FROM : SAC, CLEVELAND (157-1189) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Cleveland letter to Bureau dated 6/22/70.

OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Recently [REDACTED] submitted his resignation. [REDACTED] was well respected for his [REDACTED] and was held in high esteem by the members of the Cleveland Police Department.

At the time [REDACTED] resigned, he made a statement he could no longer fulfill his position as long as the city of Cleveland Officials gave aid and comfort to groups which are anti-lawenforcement. [REDACTED] did not further identify these groups until the press and [REDACTED] made several remarks regarding [REDACTED] resignation.

[REDACTED] later identified one of the groups he was speaking about as being headed by [REDACTED]

Cleveland is closely following this situation for any developments which might lend themselves to effective counterintelligence action and should any present themselves, Cleveland will forward same to Bureau for consideration.

OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

At the present time, Cleveland does not have any approved counterintelligence operations being effected.

TANGIBLE RESULTS

No tangible results have been achieved by Cleveland under this program since submission of referenced letter.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Cleveland

BTF/mch
(4)



REC 41
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/11/01 BY 60327
OTHERWISE

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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CV 157-1189

DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

A reliable source has advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was purged from the party.

Cleveland is attempting to locate [REDACTED] for interview regarding information of the NCCF in Cleveland. In the event [REDACTED] can be developed, he may have inside information which could effectively be used in this program.

FBI

Date: 8/11/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM
BUDED: 8/14/70

Re Bureau teletype to Baltimore, 8/6/70.

A review of the Seattle BPP reflects that during the [REDACTED] to meet with HUEY NEWTON. Seattle feels that before any recommendations or suggestions are made for a COINTEL Program, as described in above-referenced teletype, Seattle should determine the business conducted between [REDACTED] and NEWTON.

As soon as this is done, Seattle will make appropriate considerations and possible recommendations for an appropriate program.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Seattle
SER:kn
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 8/13/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Brennan _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)-P-

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUP;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM

W. J. ...
STP/K
...
...

ReButel 8/6/70.

Newark is not in a position to be familiar with dissension in the BPP leadership to the degree required for specific counterintelligence measures which requires a thorough day-by-day knowledge concerning the people involved.

Newark is not aware of any existing conflicts between HUEY P. NEWTON and other BPP leaders and assumes that dissension would have to be initiated.

In order to do so NEWTON would have to be contacted by (1) an informant, (2) telephonically, and (3) written communication.

Of the three it is believed that a written communication is best, and it is felt that it should consist of more than a complaint or grievance unless several letters from different persons was involved.

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2-Bureau (RM)
3-Newark
(1-S-2 Desk)
WCM/bak
(5)

EX-100

REC-54

77 AUG 20 1970

54 SEP 2 1970

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

36

NK 100-49654

Another possible technique would be to send NEWTON \$50 from an anonymous individual who signed as a friend of the BPP and relating that they had been making periodic payments of a like amount to DAVID HILLIARD; but now that NEWTON, the leader founder of the BPP, was out of jail, the payments would be sent to him.

It is felt that two or three payments of this type would cause NEWTON to question HILLIARD about them, thereby placing him in a difficult position.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/27/70

FROM : SAC, OMAHA (157-272)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re quarterly letter submitted in captioned program dated 5/29/70.

1. Operations under consideration 0
2. Operations being effected 1

Re Bureau airtel dated 8/24/70.
Proposed anonymous letter concern-
ing [REDACTED] was
sent to BPP Headquarters.

3. Omaha will report any tangible results from above letter.
4. Developments of counterintelli- 0
gence interests

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2 - Bureau (Registered Mail)
2 - Omaha
DMH:mmb
(4)

REC 14

AUG 31 1970

EX-100

RACIAL INT. SECT.



SEP 8 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 12-23-69)

Date 8/14/70

To: XX Director

Att.: FBI, Laboratory FILE BU 100-448006

Title RACIAL MATTERS,
☐ SAC COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
☐ ASAC BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
☐ Supv. RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
☐ Agent (VISUAL AIDS)

☐ SE _____
☐ IC _____ RE: Bulet to Seattle, 8/12/70.
☐ CC _____

☐ Steno _____

☐ Clerk _____

☐ Rotor # _____

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial # _____

☐ Post ☐ Recharge

☐ Send to _____

☐ Submit new charge out.

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Type

☐ Return

Referenced letter reflects Seattle file as 110-29488 and that 2 lab reports are enclosed. Seattle file should be 100-29488. Enclosures were not received at Seattle. Bureau requested to furnish 2 copies of lab report.

SAC J. E. MILNES

Office SEATTLE

See reverse side

GPO : 1970 O - 271-917

56 SEP 3 1970

39

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/27/70

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2544) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Buairtel to Albany, 3/4/68 and Phoenix let
to Director, 6/1/70.

In connection with above-captioned program, the
following is set forth:

1. Operation Under Consideration

[REDACTED]

On 8/24/70, [REDACTED] advised he had not
seen anything in any local publication or in the newspaper
"Muhammad Speaks" regarding [REDACTED]

On 8/24/70, [REDACTED] advised that a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Trial date has not yet been
set but Phoenix will follow this matter and if [REDACTED] is convicted,
or otherwise receives any publicity, Phoenix will furnish the

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Phoenix
(1 - 157-735)

DCP:gjk
(4)

REC-10

SI-121

AUG 28 1970

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SECT.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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PX 105-2544

DCP:gjk

Bureau with a copy of an anonymous letter for approval, to be sent from Phoenix to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

None.

3. Tangible Results

None.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

None.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

8/28/70

Airtel

1 [REDACTED]
1 [REDACTED]

To: SACs, San Francisco (157-661) (Enclosures - 4)
New Haven (157-785)

From: Director, FBI (100-448096)

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - N.T.S. GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

ReAirtel 8/6/70.

Enclosed for San Francisco are Xerox copies of Baltimore airtel 8/12/70, Detroit airtel 8/11/70, and New Haven letter 8/12/70 with enclosure containing counterintelligence suggestions by these offices in response to prior airtel teletype. San Francisco has received copies of similar suggestions submitted by Los Angeles in airtel dated 8/10/70 and by Washington Field in airtel dated 8/13/70.

San Francisco is requested to review these suggestions particularly the specific proposal made by Los Angeles and expeditiously furnish to the Bureau and interested offices its comments and observations regarding all of these proposals. Upon receipt of San Francisco's comments, the Bureau will consider utilization of these or additional proposals.

- 1 - Baltimore (157-2320)
- 1 - Detroit (157-3214)
- 1 - Los Angeles (157-4054)
- 1 - Washington Field (157-1292)

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Hennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - 105-165700 (BPP)

ABF:bjr
(14)

97 SEP 4 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

INDEXED 22
SEP 1 1970
COMM-FBI

SI-122

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

1944

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Airtel to SAC, San Francisco et al
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATION LIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
100-448006

The Bureau does not concur with San Francisco's observation that it is premature to promote discension between BPP leader Huey P. Newton and other BPP officials although it is realized that the longer Newton is in contact with BPP officials the chances increase for discension between them. However, every effort should be made at this time to disrupt their relationship and keep it from becoming a smooth working operation. Accordingly, San Francisco in its reply should include specific positive proposals to this end.

In connection with New Haven's proposal, it will be necessary for the full text of the proposed flyer to be submitted to the Bureau for approval before it can be authorized for distribution. New Haven, after receiving San Francisco's comments, should reconsider its proposal and submit the full text of such a flyer along with specific instructions on how it should be set up and duplicated at the Bureau.

NOTE:

In view of the recent release from jail of Newton, certain offices were requested to submit for consideration counterintelligence proposals aimed at disrupting BPP leadership. Before positive action is taken on any proposals, the comments and observations of San Francisco should be obtained. San Francisco's Office of Origin in the BPP case and in the cases on Newton and other leaders who would be the target of such proposals. Baltimore, Detroit, and Washington Field submitted general proposals for anonymous communications to exploit situations where former BPP members were unjustly purged, to exploit alleged homosexual background of Newton, and to attempt to furnish questions to friendly mass media sources who may interview Newton.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE THREE

Airtel to SAC, San Francisco et al
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

Los Angeles submitted a specific proposal to send a letter to BPP Chief of Staff David Hilliard to erode his confidence in Newton and a second letter to Newton to erode his confidence in Hilliard. New Haven suggested the publication of a flyer identical to a weekly BPP flyer in New Haven that would be detrimental to BPP policy and leaders. New Haven did not submit a text for such a flyer.

[REDACTED] have established an excellent rapport with [REDACTED] resulting in this successful counterintelligence operation.

[REDACTED] have an excellent to outstanding work record and are currently within the Bureau's weight limits. It is recommended that separate letters of commendation be forwarded to these two Agents.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 8/31/70

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (157-231) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Albany letter to Bureau dated, 5/28/70.

The following quarterly counterintelligence letter is submitted in accordance with current Bureau instructions:

1. Operations Under Consideration

As indicated in referenced letter, attempts are continuing to determine the Black Liberation Front's financial backing and its sources of funds. If possible, upon determination of the above, through sources and whatever other means available, dissension and disruption could be provided within the organization.

2. Operations Being Effected

Efforts are continuing to develop additional informant coverage.

With the development of [REDACTED], it is hoped that valuable information can be obtained regarding leaders, objectives, finances, organizational structure and so on.

2- Bureau (RM)
3- Albany
(1- 157-265)
JWM:lew
(5)

REC-36

SEP 1 1970



1 SEP 9 1970

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AL 157-231

3. Tangible Results

[REDACTED] Development of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

4. Development of Counterintelligence Interests

[REDACTED] became available to the FBI for informant
purposes.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-134466)

DATE: 8/28/70

FROM : SAC, COLUMBIA (100-321) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HANE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Columbia letters to Bureau dated 5/28 and 6/23/70
and Bureau letter to Columbia dated 7/1/70.

I. SUMMARY OF CHANGES SINCE REFERENCE LETTER

A new group has been organized within the Columbia Division since referenced letters. This group is a National Committee to Combat Racism (NCCR) formed in Charleston, S. C., [REDACTED] As the Bureau is aware, the NCCR is known and active as an arm of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The following are known Black Nationalist Groups in South Carolina and all have been reported to the Bureau in the past. All of these groups are connected with educational institutions except the Nation of Islam (NOI):

1. Black Awareness Coordinating Committee (BACC), South Carolina State College (SCSC), Orangeburg, S. C.
2. BACC, Voorhees College, Lenoir, S. C.
3. Association of Afro-American Students (AAAS), University of South Carolina (USC), Columbia, S. C.
4. Student League for Black Identity (SLBI), Clemson University, Clemson, S. C. (not active).
5. Nation of Islam (NOI) [REDACTED]

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2 - Bureau (P)
1 - Columbia

WMA:js
(3)

REC-34

EX-115

SEP 1 1970



SEP 9 1970

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II. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

[REDACTED]

The Bureau, by airtel dated August 20, 1979, captioned Black Panther Party, advised that information had been developed that certain members of the BPP were receiving welfare checks from the State Government. Columbia is checking to determine if such is the case with the BPP in Charleston and will also check to determine if any of the leading members of the NOI are receiving such checks. If this check is positive, Columbia will, in accordance with Bureau instruction, attempt to embarrass these organizations and, or, the leaders.

III. RELATIVES BEING EFFECTED

[REDACTED] has occasionally been reported, Columbia, through [REDACTED] is keeping a record of the situation whereby the Episcopal Church has in the past been black militant groups large sums of money [REDACTED] violently against such donations [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

...national institutions in Colombia,
...institutions in Colombia, and
controlled (presently to insure that all institutions
at these institutions will be known to the Government the
earliest possible moment.

I. FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS

1. ...

II. INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

1. ...

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/31/70

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Newark letter to Bureau 5/28/70.

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Newark has no operations under consideration at this time.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

No operations are being effected at the present time.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

Tangible results cannot be directly attributed to any specific counterintelligence operations effected based on information presently available.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

In the Newark Division, organizations such as the BPP, YOUNG LORDS, and in fact all racial and militant groups have been relatively static during the past three months. Activity in general has been limited to meetings, with public actions and confrontations practically nonexistent, other than that involving Puerto Rican groups.

Newark will remain alert for counterintelligence opportunities.

REC 17

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Newark
AGO:aas
(3)

58 SEP 10 1970

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448) RUC

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

DATE: 8/31/70

90-Day Progress Letter

Re Kansas City letter, 6/1/70, to Bureau.

The Bureau has been advised that the Kansas City, Missouri Black Panther Party (BPP) chapter disbanded about 4/20/70. There has been no subsequent indication whatsoever of any BPP activity in the Kansas City Division.

Though the defunct BPP chapter was replaced by a small local Kansas City, Missouri, militant black group, known as Sons of Malcolm, that group has been practically inactive and/or insignificant since May, 1970.

Subsequently, UACB, this matter is being considered RUC and no further progress letters are contemplated.

2 Bureau (RM)
1 Kansas City
LWJ:jrt
(3)

REC-21

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. W. H. Attkinson
1 - Mr. C. E. Enright

SAC, Kansas City (100-12418)

9/11/70

REC-124 Director, FBI (100-445006) - 17

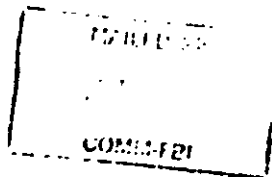
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reurlet 8/31/70.

Since there is within your Division the Sons of
Malcolm, successor organization to the now defunct chapter
of the NRP, you should continue to submit counterintelligence
reports and progress letters under the above captioned
program.

CBE:sal
(5)

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



56 SEP 17 1970

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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53

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
Attention: Administrative Division

DATE: 8/20/70

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (67-30-SF1)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA)

COMMENDATION MATTER

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] for their performance in initiating a highly successful counterintelligence operation against the Republic of New Africa (RNA) in Miss.

The People's Central Council, a national governing body of RNA, held a conference in Jackson, Miss., on 7/31/70 - 8/2/70 with 35 persons representing several states, being in attendance. [REDACTED] currently headquartered with the RNA in New Orleans, scheduled and was the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] decided to expose the RNA in an unfavorable light, highlighting the group's propensity for violence. With Bureau approval, [REDACTED] was contacted on a confidential basis and was furnished certain facts regarding the RNA.

[REDACTED] the date prior to the beginning of the conference, and also on 7/31/70 which were highly critical, effective, and very timely.

SI-122

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Jackson
LCB/jsk
(3)

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REC-19



97 SEP 4 1970

[redacted] reported to Agents that [redacted] was greatly upset with the newspaper articles which disclosed that the RNA is an organization with a propensity for violence. It was reported that representatives of the Jackson Consulate of the RNA expressed grave concern over the article, stating they were shocked the RNA had such an unfavorable record. As a result, heated arguments within the RNA followed as regards the ultimate goals of the RNA.

After the completion of the first day's conference and at approximately 2:00 a.m., 25 members of the RNA returned to their hotel, only to learn their reservations had been cancelled. The group was forced to spend the remainder of the night in a local church, cars, and homes of friends. This cancellation was caused by the unfavorable publicity.

As a result of this unfavorable publicity, members of the RNA deemed it advisable to arm themselves. At 10:00 a.m. on 7/30/70, [redacted] being uninformed with weapons and while cleaning a gun, accidentally shot himself in the left leg, receiving a minor flesh wound. He asked the identity of a physician who would treat him confidentially and he was referred to [redacted] RNA members. He was treated by [redacted]

[redacted] and other RNA members urged [redacted] not to report the shooting to the police as it would be embarrassing. This information was immediately disseminated to the Jackson Police Department, Miss. Highway Safety Patrol, and also to [redacted]

[redacted] derogatory to RNA and thoroughly embarrassed [redacted] about the shooting.

[redacted] advised that because of the adverse publicity, the conference was a complete failure and that a conference of this nature will never again be held in Jackson, Miss.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ~~SECRET~~ (100-44000)

DATE: 1/11/80

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-202) (P)

SUBJECT: CIVIL INVESTIGATION PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISM - WFL GROUPS
MILTON F. FLETCHER

10 Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1-4-76 and Springfield letter to Bureau dated 1-26-76.

Since the submission of reference letter an additional individual [redacted] has been active in the [redacted] area; and his activities and those of his associates have been the objects of vigorous investigation.

b6
b7C

Regarding possible counterintelligence operations under code name, the activities of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were reported, following closely for any possible counterintelligence action that would be feasible and worthwhile.

Since the submission of referenced letter, no operations have been conducted in the Springfield Division, but this matter continues to be followed closely, and at such time as effective counterintelligence operations can be instituted they will be submitted to the Bureau for approval.

3 - Bureau (100-448664) (RM)
4 - Springfield (62-100-100)

(1-
(1-

REC- 25

57-105

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58 SEP 18 1970



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

56

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442006) DATE: 8/28/70

FROM : SAC, SAINT LOUIS (157-5816) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

The following information is submitted regarding the counterintelligence activities (Black Extremists) by the Saint Louis Division in the past 90 days.

1. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

None.

2. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

None.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

None.

4. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Black Nationalism, a local Negro extremist group, has moved its headquarters from Pershing Avenue to North Marcus Avenue where their rent is apparently being paid by a local federally-funded project. When this information is verified, an appropriate LHM will be submitted to the Bureau for dissemination.

REC 18

EX-100

1970

3 - Bureau (RM)

2 - Saint Louis

JAF:sk

SEP 9 1970



EXCEPT FOR THE
OTHERWISE

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

57

DIRECTOR, FBI (157-1244)

8/25/70

SAC, SPRINGFIELD (157-1030)

-P-

THE VOICE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
RM - DM

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies each of the following issues of the "Voice of the Black Community":

Volume II, Issue 30, Thursday, May 28, 1970;
Volume II, Issue 31, Thursday, June 11, 1970;
Volume II, Issue 32, Thursday, June 25, 1970;
Volume II, Issue 33, Thursday, July 9, 1970.

Also enclosed for the Bureau are three copies each of an LHM providing an analysis of the contents of these publications.

Review of the publications revealed no anti-semitic content.

Individual cases with regard to items, individuals, and significant material contained in "The Voice of the Black Community" have been opened where appropriate and the Bureau has been separately advised where necessary.

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① - Bureau (2:157-1244) (Enc. 43)

(1) Counter Intelligence Program
② - Springfield (2:157-1030)

JRE/jac
(7)

(1:157-1240) (Anti-Semitism)

55 SEP 17 1970

NOT RECORDED
13 SEP 11 1970

58

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/1/70

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16921) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBuairtel 3/1/68, and mylet, 6/1/70.

1. None
2. None
3. None
4. None

There have been no changes in the overall Black Nationalist Movement in this Division which have not been previously furnished to the Bureau.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Cincinnati

BCK:jms
(4)

REC 11

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006 Sub 13)

DATE: Aug. 31, 1970

FROM : SAC, Denver (157-199) (P#)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Denver letter to Bureau dated 5/28/70.

- | | |
|--|------|
| (1) Operations under consideration | None |
| (2) Operations being affected | None |
| (3) Tangible results | None |
| (4) Development of counterintelligence | None |

Since the last quarterly letter under the above caption, the Denver Chapter of the BPP has been inactive other than selling BPP newspapers. Since some of the BPP members were arrested for selling newspapers, the circulation in Denver has dropped from 3,000 to 500 received from San Francisco. Also since the last quarterly letter, the Breakfast for Children program has been discontinued and the BPP operation in Denver reached such a low ebb that in mid August, 1970, the Denver BPP Chapter was disbanded. All of the members sent to Denver from California have since departed Denver.

This past week a National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) has been started in Denver with the hopes of again starting a Breakfast for Children program when school starts in Denver.

EX-103 REC 11

Denver will remain aware of any counterintelligence in the future and the Bureau will be immediately notified for authority. It is felt at this time any program started by the NCCF will not be any more successful than such activities sponsored by the old BPP group in Denver.



2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Denver
FRV:mf
(3)

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SEP 3 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

60

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/1/70

FROM : *WAS*
C SAC, MOBILE (157-2578) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Mobile letter to Bureau 5/28/70.

1) Operations Under Consideration

The only Black Nationalist group under investigation in the Mobile Division is the Nation of Islam (NOI) which recently became active in Mobile. Investigation to date reflects that this group is small and there is no information indicating that the group has participated in or planned any violent activity.

The only counterintelligence activity undertaken against this organization is the beginning of an interview program. Any other counterintelligence matters that may be felt to be of value will be communicated to the Bureau.

2) Operations Being Effected
None.

3) Tangible Results
None.

4) Developments of Counterintelligence Interest
None.

② - Bureau (RM)
2 - Mobile
JTB:alb
(4)

REC 27

3 SEP 4 1970

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56 SEP 14 1970

REC'D. INT. SEC.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

61

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/31/70

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (157-3213) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Tampa letters to Bureau, dated 6/1/70 and 7/14/70, captioned as above; Tampa airtel, with enclosed LHM, dated 7/24/70, captioned, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM-BPP," and Bulet, dated 6/19/70.

1. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Re Bulet, 6/19/70, suggests Tampa give consideration to the sending of an anonymous letter to an official of the Pinellas Opportunity Council (POC) concerning the continued employment at POC by JUNTA OF MILITANT ORGANIZATIONS (JOMO) members. Subsequently, an article appeared in the "St. Petersburg Times," on 8/11/70, concerning [REDACTED] setting forth [REDACTED]

The article was sympathetic to [REDACTED] although the article did set forth the Black extremist involvement in the POC. The Tampa Office was not involved in any way in the preparation of the above-mentioned article. The article did serve the purposes mentioned above and no further counterintelligence measures in this matter are under consideration at this time.

2. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

Tampa is closely following the activities of JOMO, the NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM (NCCF) and the BLACK YOUTH FOR PEACE AND POWER (BYPP) in Tampa, Florida, and during the continuing investigation, Tampa will remain alert for counterintelligence potential.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

As set forth in re Tampa letter 7/14/70, [REDACTED] is [REDACTED] which was as a result of [REDACTED] subsequently furnished to the Tampa Police Department.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Tampa
JEH:lp

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6 SEP 3 1970



SEP 4 1970

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RACIAL INT. SEC. 62

[REDACTED] as a result of information furnished by a [REDACTED] which was immediately furnished to the Tampa Police Department.

[REDACTED] left Fort Myers to move to Detroit, Michigan. [REDACTED] left because the NOI was unable to gain support in Fort Myers. [REDACTED] blamed an FBI source for this because the source would not participate in spreading the NOI message.

Re Tampa airtel and enclosed LHM sets forth the attempts by [REDACTED] to obtain support and funds from members of the Lutheran Church in the Tampa area. Subsequently, Tampa contacted a member of the Executive Council of the Lutheran Church in Tampa, who indicated that he would complain to other members of the Executive Council concerning the Lutheran Church permitting [REDACTED] to speak and show a BPP film during a meeting at a Lutheran Church.

4. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Due to the incarceration of Black militant leaders in the Tampa area, the leadership of Black extremist groups is weak, but the groups could possibly gain strength once the leaders are released from jail. During the continuing investigation of these groups, the possibility of counterintelligence measures will be closely followed.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448906)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/2/70

Re Chicago letter dated 6/1/70 (quarterly progress).

Set forth herewith is the periodic progress letter concerning captioned matter.

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

The Bureau has previously advised that it would be sufficient to note dates on which letters have been submitted in captioned matter, regarding counterintelligence proposals concerning the Black Panther Party (BPP) for the period covered by the quarterly letter.

Since the date of referenced letter, these letters have been submitted as follows:

July 1, 1970, July 15, 1970, August 12, 1970

Chicago continues to analyze the available current information regarding local BPP activity in a continuing effort to determine what, if any, such information may be of assistance in the development of a counterintelligence effort. The BPP continues to be considered the focal point for counterintelligence.

II AND III OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED AND TANGIBLE RESULTS OBTAINED

Reference has previously been made to the specific counterintelligence actions initiated by Chicago. No information has been received effecting tangible results of these actions.

2 - Bureau
2 - Chicago
1 - 157-1291 (BPP)
JPM/CLH
(4)

REC-46

SI-105

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9 SEP 4 1970

30 SEP 14 1970

64

Bureau letter to Portland dated June 19, 1970, authorized the mailing an anonymous note and copy of an article appearing in the BPP newspaper on April 11, 1970. No information has been received reflecting tangible results in this regard.

Chicago has also continued to advise local authorities of instances where BPP members appear vulnerable to arrest on local charges.

Information has regularly been disseminated by Chicago to other Bureau offices for local dissemination in instances where Chicago BPP members have traveled elsewhere. Prior knowledge of the presence of BPP members in their areas has been of value in alerting local authorities to the potential for violence that their presence represents.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

There are no current developments concerning the Illinois Chapter of the BPP which would appear to have reasonable potential for counterintelligence activity.

Regarding the remainder of local Black Nationalist groups and individuals their activities are fragmented and limited. Chicago continues to follow such activities in the event information is developed which would indicate a counterintelligence effort would appear to have reasonable potential.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/2/70

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Jackson quarterly progress letter to Bureau, 6/3/70; Jackson airtels to Bureau, 7/21/70, 8/3/70, 8/4/70, and 8/5/70; Bureau airtels to Jackson, 7/27/70 and 8/17/70.

Quarterly Progress Letter

I. Operations Under Consideration

Jackson Division is currently analyzing programs and activities of Muhammad's Mosque, Jackson, Mississippi, a Nation of Islam group, in an effort to develop a suitable counterintelligence measure. It is noted that counterintelligence measures have been approved against this mosque in the past and have been effected against this group. As the group's activities are continuing in the Jackson area, Jackson Division feels that it would be appropriate to concentrate further counterintelligence measures against this group, and if appropriate measures determine Bureau authority will be requested for approval.

II. Operations Being Effected

A. By airtel dated 4/13/70, Bureau approved a Jackson counterintelligence suggestion to attempt to dissolve a budding Black Panther Party group at Sunflower, Miss.; a proposal concerning the mailing of three anonymous letters to the Mississippi governor, state attorney general, and county prosecutor at Sunflower County, Miss., was approved by the Bureau. These letters reported that a BPP group existed at Sunflower and

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② - Bureau (RM)
2 - Jackson
TF:ccs

(4) 36 SEP 14 1970

REC-43

10 SEP 4 1970

RACIAL INT. SEC



5010-108-01

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66

indicated its members possibly involved in criminal activities there. The letter requested receiving officials to take actions to counter the criminal activities of these individuals and thereby dissolve the group. These three letters were prepared and mailed from Indianola, Mississippi, on 5/22/70. Indianola is the county seat of Sunflower County, Miss.

B. By airtel dated 7/27/70, the Bureau approved a Jackson Division counterintelligence suggestion regarding [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] regarding the publishing of an article about the Republic of New Africa (RNA), showing the RNA in an unfavorable light and enumerating examples of the RNA's violent nature. The RNA had planned to hold a national conference in Jackson 7/31/70 to 8/2/70, and an article to appear in the "Jackson Daily News" just prior to the group's arrival in Jackson was sought.

[REDACTED] He was provided public source-type information regarding the RNA on a confidential basis. He published extensive front page articles showing the RNA in an unfavorable light on 7/30/70, 7/31/70, and 8/4/70. This newspaper has the widest distribution of any paper in Mississippi.

III. Tangible Results

A. The [REDACTED] After the mailing of the three anonymous letters mentioned under Roman Numeral II above, the following information was developed:

[REDACTED] advised in late June, 1970, that in early June, 1970, he called in [REDACTED] and interviewed him as a possible suspect in a recent burglary of a school in the Indianola area; [REDACTED] said he told [REDACTED] he was considering him a strong suspect in this case and possibly other burglaries in the Indianola area,

100-980

and he would follow all of [REDACTED] activities very closely in the future.

As a result of the above information, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] left Mississippi in June, 1970, and said he would be gone indefinitely due to police pressure on him and his activities. As a result of the departure of [REDACTED] from the [REDACTED] the BPP group at [REDACTED] disbanded in June, 1970, and is still totally inactive and defunct.

Jackson Division is of the opinion that the county attorney, Sunflower County, upon receipt of the anonymous letter prepared by the Jackson Division, contacted [REDACTED] and directed him to look into the activities of the BPP group at Sunflower. This resulted in [REDACTED] calling in [REDACTED] as a suspect in a burglary to place pressure on him regarding his BPP activities.

B. As a result of the articles which appeared in the "Jackson Daily News" on 7/30/70 - 8/4/70, showing the RNA in an unfavorable light, the RNA conference in Jackson on the weekend of 7/31/70 - 8/2/70 was disrupted and support of the conference by Jackson Negro residents was curtailed extensively. The RNA received a considerable amount of unfavorable publicity in Jackson and throughout Mississippi, and the conference was generally a failure as a result.

IV. Other Developments of Counterintelligence

Extensive informant penetration of the Afro-American Society at Jackson State College, Jackson, Mississippi, has been instrumental in the continued inactivity of this group since the spring of 1970.

The [REDACTED] in the RNA consulate in Jackson [REDACTED] continues to result in the RNA having civil difficulties in establishing a foothold in Mississippi or setting up any effective program in Mississippi.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442000)

FROM : SAC, JACKSONVILLE (157-1520) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST GAY GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
JACKSONVILLE DIVISION

DATE: 9/01/70

Re Jacksonville letter to Bureau, 8/1/70.

DISCUSSION

1. Operations Under Consideration

There is no counterintelligence action under consideration at this time by the Jacksonville Office. Agents assigned to this type investigation are alert for any possible action that might be recommended in the future.

2. Operations Being Affected

None

3. Possible Results

None

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interests

It is noted that during the past 30 day period, activity of groups which could be considered Black Nationalists have been very limited. There is no indication that a Black Panther Party has been established in the Jacksonville Division, however, this Division is alert to the possibility of this group attempting to establish a part in this area and sources and informants have been alerted to report any attempts in this regard.

REC-39

2 - Bureau
2 - Jacksonville
CC:ppb
(4)

SEP 4 1970



5 SEP 14 1970

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447141)

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-215) (C)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM;
BPC FIELD LIST--CIVIL GROUPS
TICOM INTELLIGENCE
(VICTIM AIDS)

DATE: 9/2/70

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies each of eleven photographs of the alleged headquarters of the National Committee to Combat Racism, 430 Beacon Street, New Bedford, Mass., which premises were raided by the New Bedford Police Department on 7/31/70, following the wounding of a passerby by a shot fired from that building. The photographs are identified on the rear. They are being furnished as possible visual aids in connection with racial matters.

REC 27

1 - Bureau (Enc. 22) (RM)
1 - Boston
JTB:cb
(3)

100-447141-1959
SEP 4 1970

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

SEP 28 1970

70

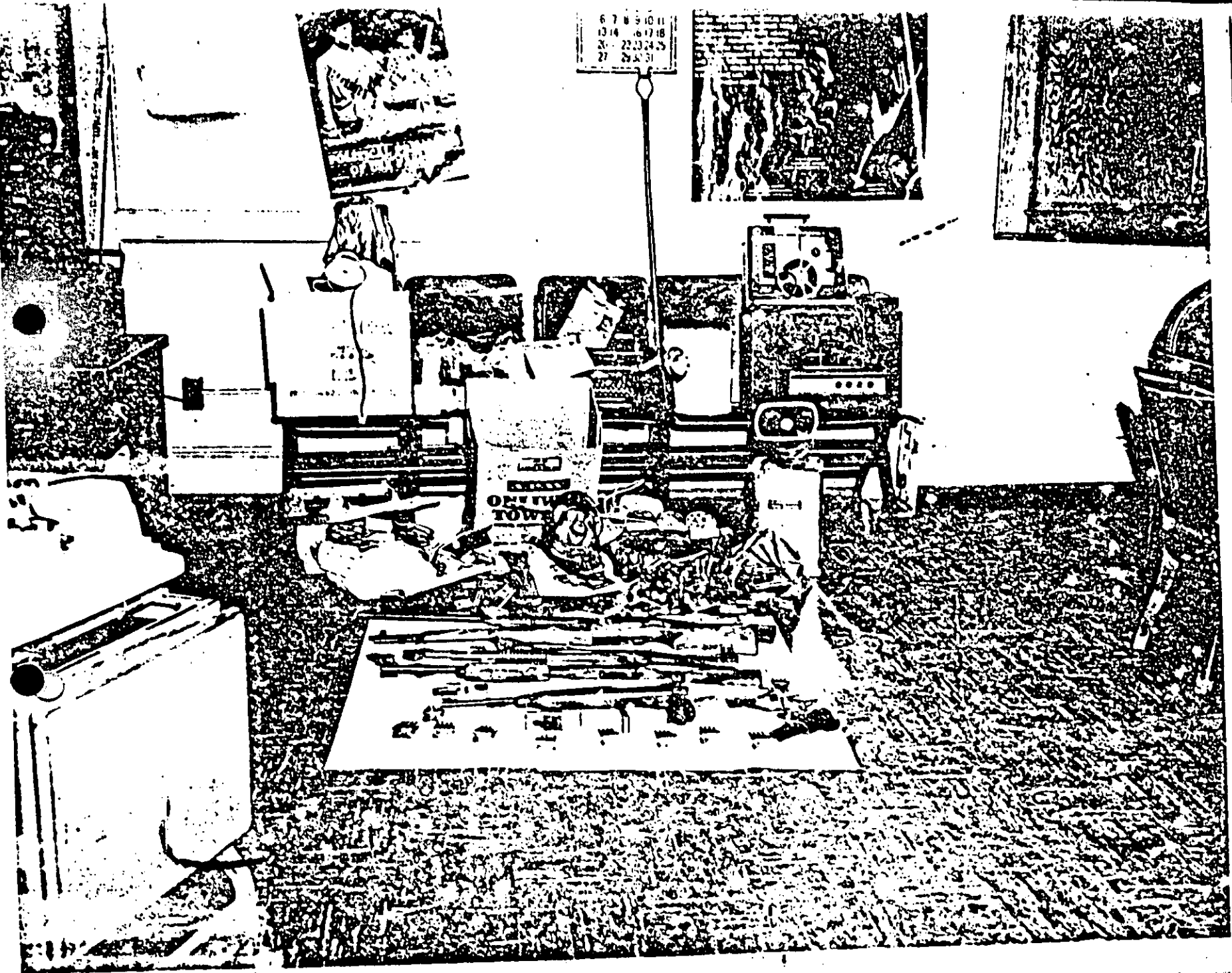
16

10) Contraband seized in police raid July 31,
1970 (photo taken at New Bedford, Massachusetts, Police
Department.)



41

11) Another view of contraband seized in
police raid showing stabbed toy pig in center picture
(photo taken at New Bedford, Massachusetts, Police
Department.)



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46

95

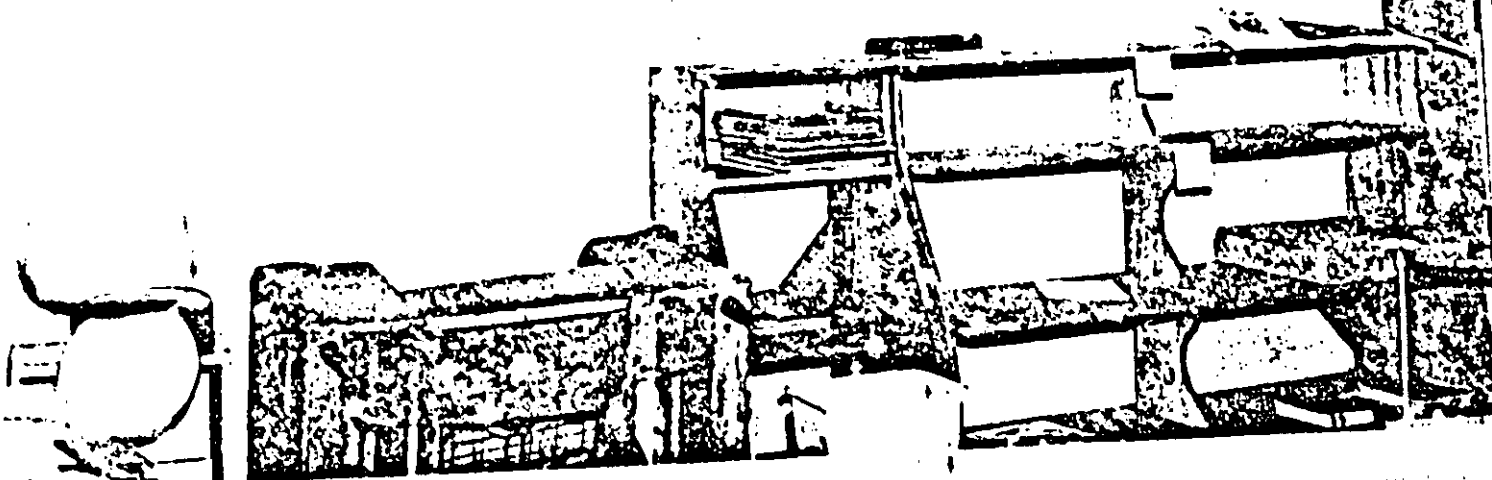
3) Interior view of South wall.



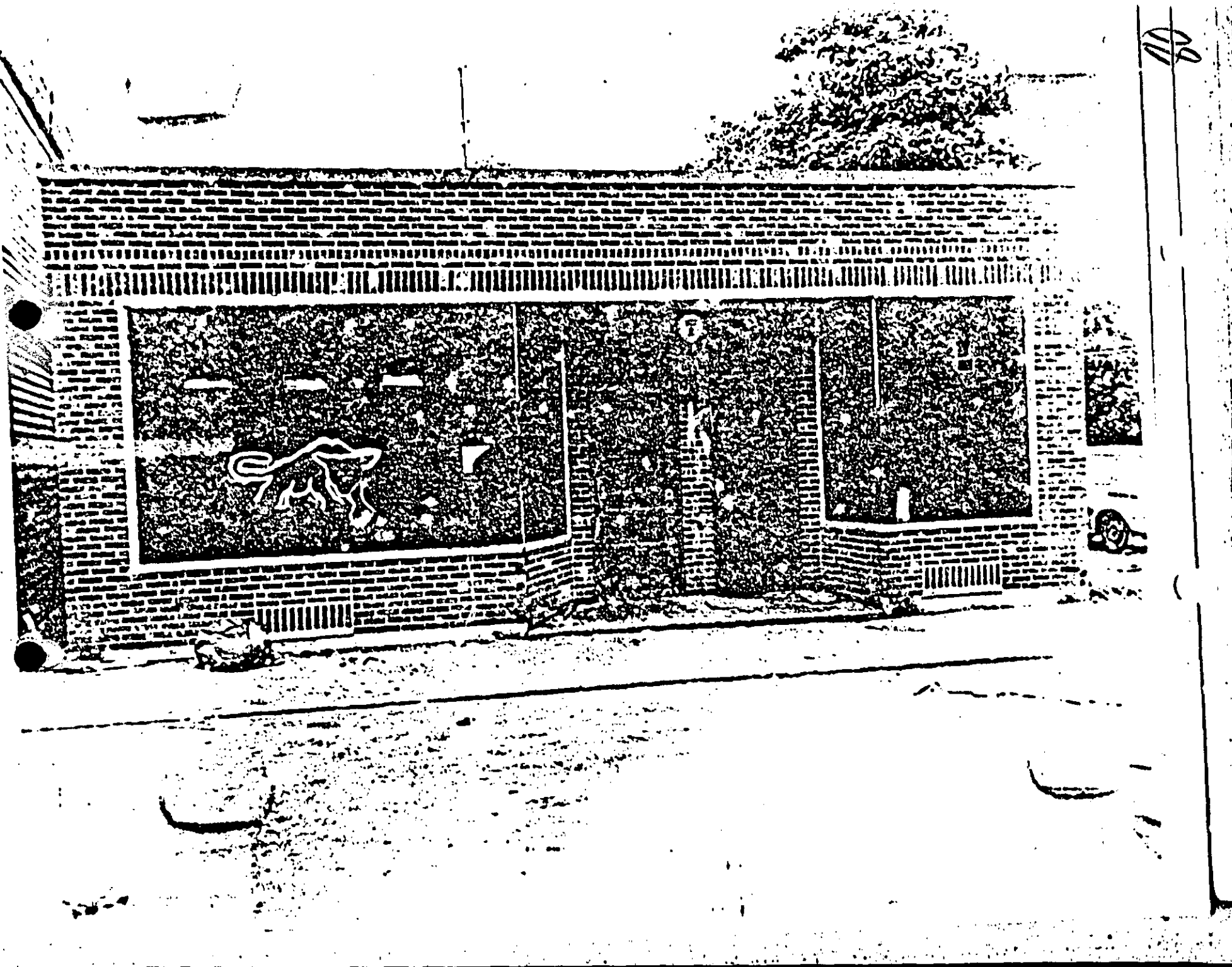
66
9) Interior view of West wall.

78

KIDNAPPED

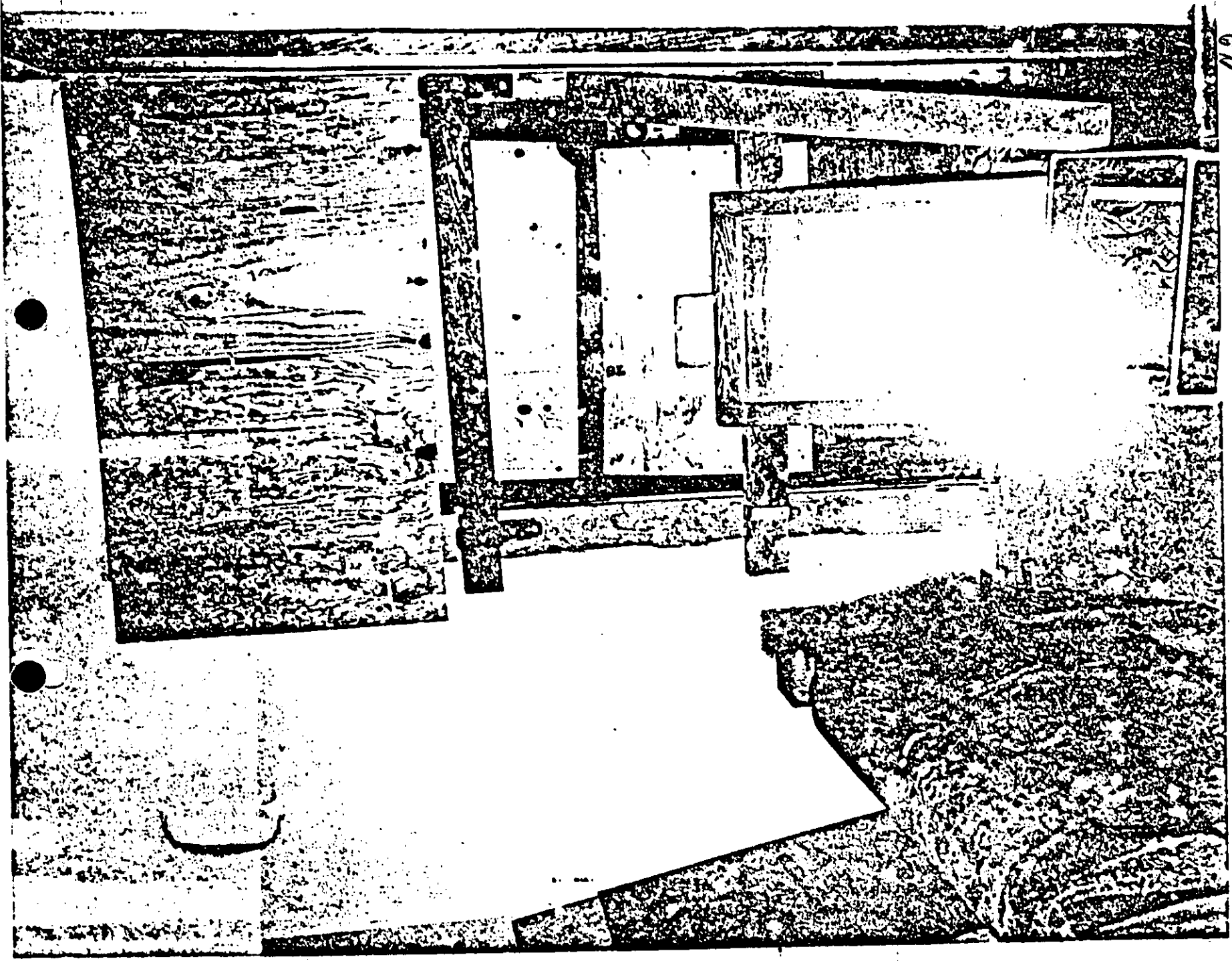


1) Exterior view of North Side of building
showing front door.



18
7) Interior view of South Side showing rear
door barricaded.

48



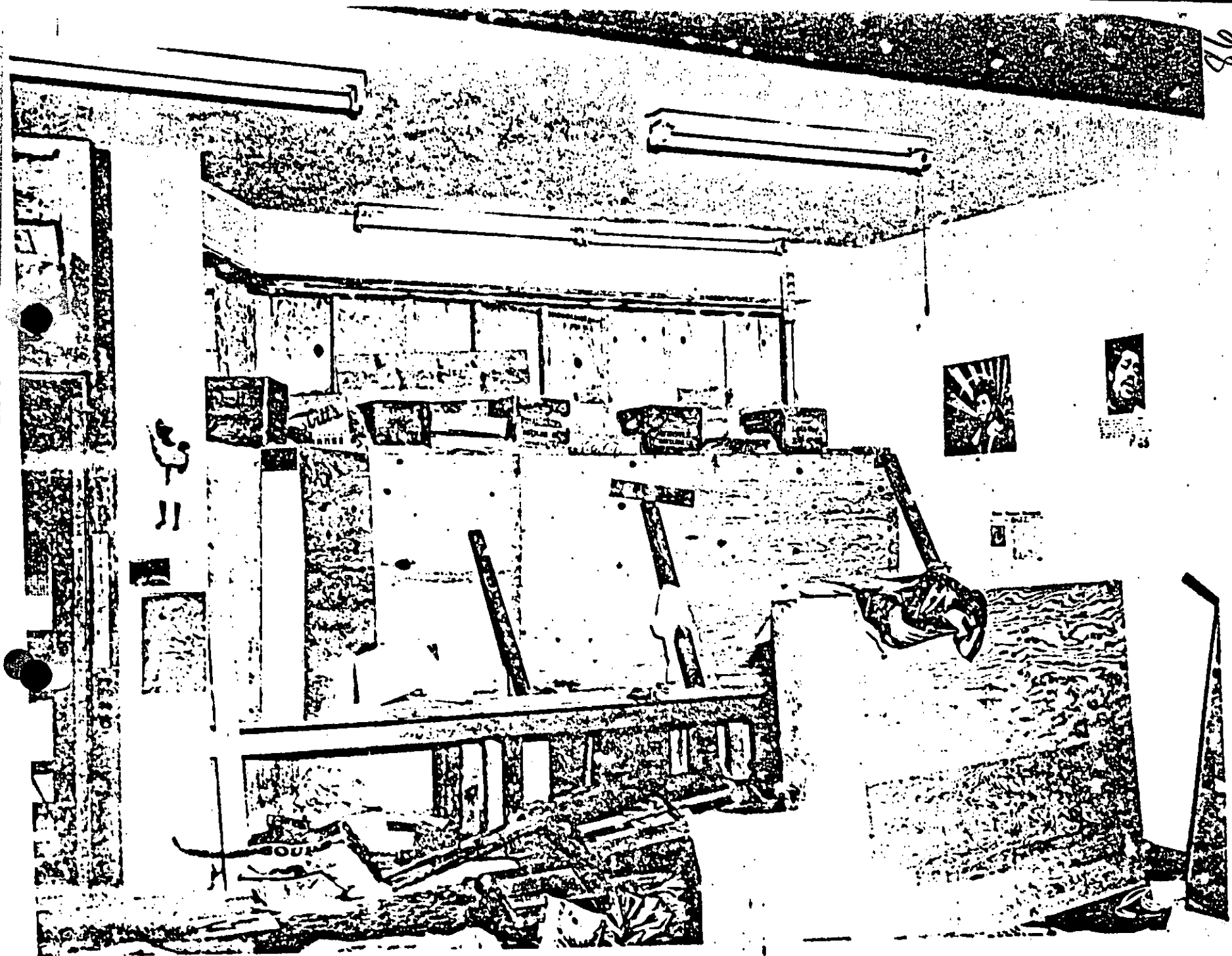
6) Interior view of East wall.

48



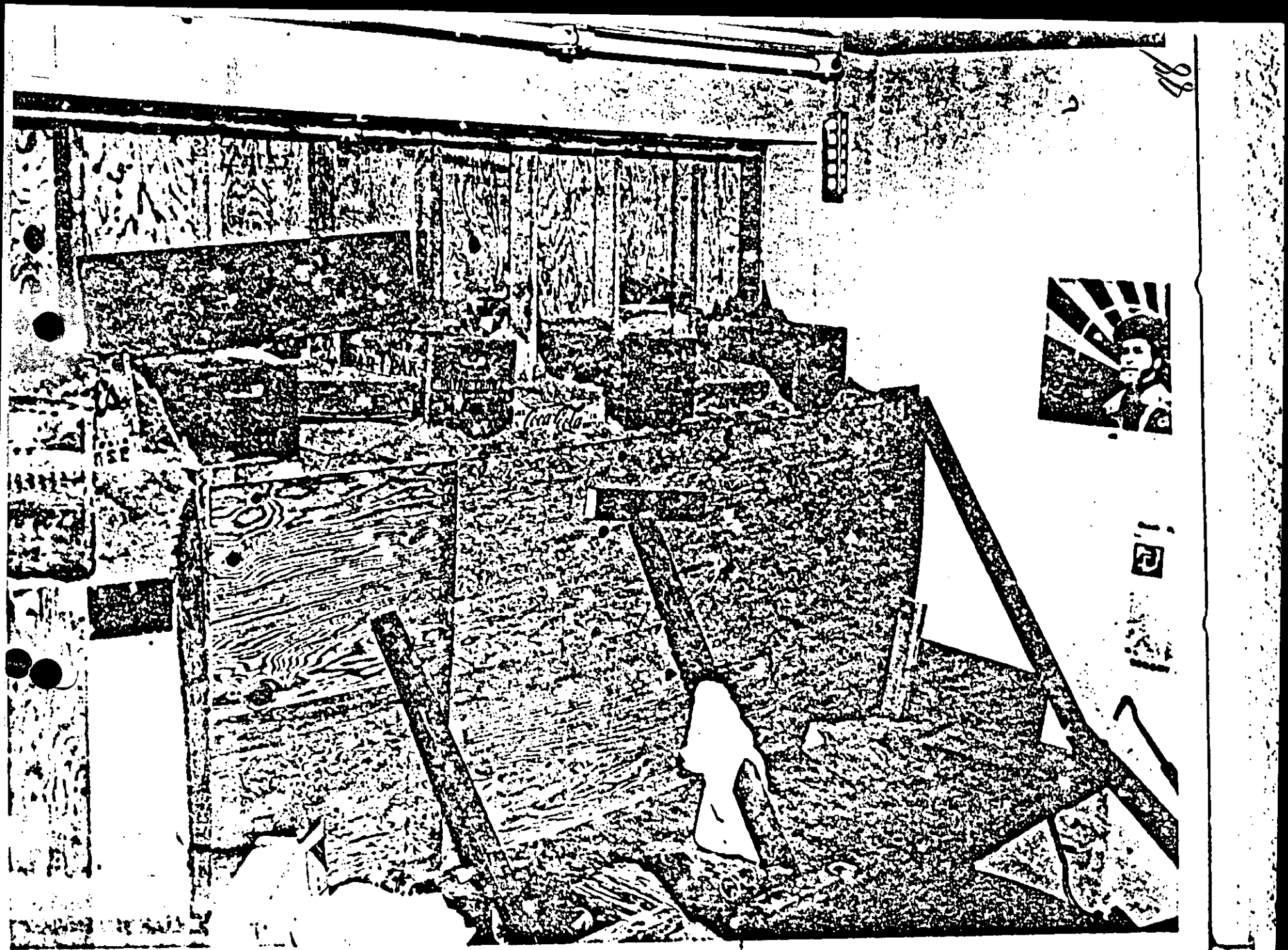
45

5) Additional view of North East corner.

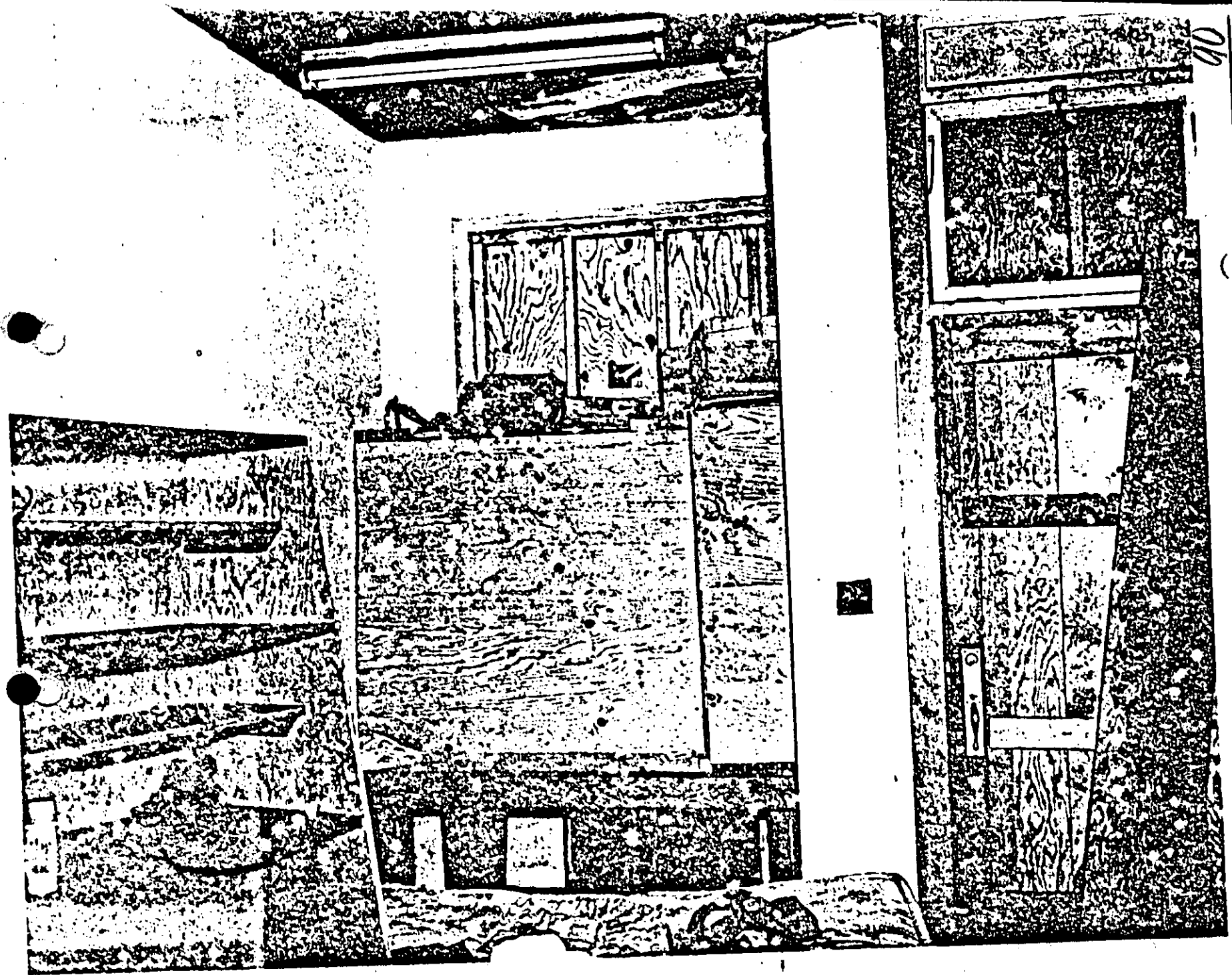


68

4) Interior view of North East corner showing
double plywood section with middle filled with sand and gun
slots.



819
3) Interior view of North West corner showing
double plywood section with middle filled with sand and
gun slots.



16
2) Exterior view of South Side of building
showing rear door.

010



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/2/70

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM

Re Seattle airtel to Bureau, 8/11/70.

On August 12, 1970, [REDACTED] that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] had [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was
unable to provide any indication that the meeting between
[REDACTED] and HUEY NEWTON at this funeral could result in an
application to an appropriate Cointelpro.

Seattle has made a review of the possibilities of
a Cointelpro in the line discussed in the Bureau teletype
to Baltimore, August 6, 1970, with no appropriate possibilities
at this time.

Seattle will maintain an awareness of any
opportunities that may arise and appropriately advise
the Bureau.

REC-38

2 - Bureau (REG)
2 - Seattle
SER:cmf
(4)

NO SEP 4 1970

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RACIAL INT. SEC.

54 SEP 16 1970

93

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/31/70

FROM : SAC, HOUSTON (157-1210) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReHOlet, 6/1/70.

I. Operations Under Consideration

No specific counterintelligence operation currently being effected in the Houston Division. As the Bureau has previously been advised, Peoples Party II (PP II), a Black Panther Party (BPP) oriented black nationalist group in Houston, engaged in a confrontation with police wherein the leader of the PP II was shot and killed. Subsequently, charges and counter-charges have been made against black people as to who was responsible for the confrontation and, as a result, the PP II is completely disoriented and in a state of chaos.

The other black nationalist group in Houston is the Nation of Islam (NOI) and this group has concentrated mainly on selling of the NOI newspaper and has not become involved in black nationalist type activity.

II. Operations Being Effected

Because of the apparent distrust among members of the PP II as a result of the above-mentioned confrontation, Houston has been attempting, through its informants, to generate additional distrust and questions among the various people connected with the PP II. It is felt that at the present time this action on the part of informants is the best avenue for disruption of this violence-prone group of black nationalists and it will be continued.

III. Tangible Results

It is felt that with continued disruption among the PP II by informants this violence-prone group will ultimately disintegrate. It is anticipated that based on

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Houston

ST-121

REC-52

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6 SEP 3 1970

DCS:jam
(3)



56 SEP 14 1970

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RACIAL INT. SEC. 44

HO 157-1210

developments in recent weeks the main energies of the PF II members will ultimately be shifted and channelized into non-violent poverty type organizations in Houston and this should effectively neutralize the group.

IV. Development of Counterintelligence Interest

There has been no outstanding development in the Houston Division of a counterintelligence nature, and while the PF II in its current state of disruption has been making efforts to obtain support from the national BPP headquarters through personal visits and through the selling of newspapers, it appears from developments to date that the national headquarters of the BPP is not enthusiastic in supporting the Houston operation, as there are currently too many unanswered questions as to who is running the organization and who can be trusted.

This matter will continue to be given appropriate attention by the Houston Division.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 9/3/70

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (105-5096) P

SUBJECT: CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INFLUENCE
(NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT
FASCISM - RICHMOND DIVISION)

ReBulet to Richmond, 6/3/70.

Efforts to organize National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) in Richmond, Va., continue to be sporadic and halfhearted and to date have not achieved tangible results.

[REDACTED] has not been exerting himself in this regard, and the poor turnout at a recent meeting in Richmond, at which Black Panther Party (BPP) speakers appeared, is believed to be a direct result of [REDACTED]

Richmond has found in its dealings with [REDACTED] that he is interested in having the spotlight of attention focused on himself; however, when pressure is brought upon him, he buckles and withdraws. An example of this is his recent continuing failure to maintain contact with the Washington, D.C. BPP Chapter. Richmond believes his failure to maintain contact with the BPP Chapter in Washington, D.C., is because [REDACTED] and also because it has been recently rumored that [REDACTED] is working undercover for the FBI.

Within the last two and a half weeks anonymous telephone calls have been made to the local "Afro-American" newspaper office as well as other Richmond newspapers, advising that [REDACTED] is working for the FBI. Richmond believes these calls were made by a jealous associate of [REDACTED] (possibly [REDACTED]) in an effort to discredit [REDACTED] whether as a result of these anonymous calls or possibly as a result of the friendly attitude exhibited by Richmond Agents toward [REDACTED] in public, or a combination thereof, reliable information has been received indicating that [REDACTED] is suspect.

REC 18

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - Richmond

(2 - 105-5096)
(1 - 157-2986)
(1 - 157-2733)

WJO/vlr
(6)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

96

On 8/21/70, [REDACTED] telephonically contacted the Richmond Office advising that it had come to his attention that numerous telephone calls had been made to people in Richmond by a person using his name. [REDACTED] indicated that whoever made these calls spoke disrespectfully to the party called and left [REDACTED] unlisted home telephone number, should the party called desire to recontact him.

[REDACTED] intimated that the FBI Office was responsible for these calls; however, after being set straight, he allowed as to how possibly one of his jealous associates is trying to put him "under the gun". [REDACTED] indicated that he would furnish the names of some of the recipients of these calls; however, to date he has failed to do so.

Richmond has received independent information verifying that the aforementioned calls were in fact made and is making further inquiry concerning them. Aside from the possible counterintelligence effect this inquiry may have, Richmond is remaining alert for possible counterintelligence suggestions which might further disrupt WCC organizational efforts and the neutralization of [REDACTED]. Specific counterintelligence measures will be submitted for approval.

FBI

Date: 9/31/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: *ASD* S/C SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

[REDACTED] has reported that Jack-In-The Box Drive-Thru is contributing a large amount of hamburger patties to the Black Panther Breakfast Program in this area. Inquiries reflect that the general offices for the organization in this area is located at 2395 American Avenue, Hayward, California and the [REDACTED]

There is no adverse information in the files of this office identifiable to [REDACTED]. Bureau authority is requested to direct the following anonymous letter to [REDACTED] from San Francisco on plain typewriting paper and in an unmarked envelope:

[REDACTED]
General Offices
Jack-In-The-Box Drive-Thru
2395 American Avenue
Hayward, California

"It has come to my attention that your organization is making sizeable contributions to the so-called Black Panther

② - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco
LSB/jmp
(3)

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OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

87 157-601

Breakfast Program. I think perhaps your motives are fine but doubt that you have any real knowledge of the Black Panther organization. Their breakfast program in the San Francisco area is almost non-existent and what they do have is utilized to instill their ideas of racial hate and violence in very young children. I am enclosing for you a copy of a Black Panther Coloring Book drawn by Black Panther artists and distributed at the breakfast program. I am also enclosing for your review a copy of their August 21, 1970 issue of "The Black Panther." I wish you would review the articles and cartoons therein. Articles and cartoons that call for the murder of our officials and police. I hope that after you have given due consideration to these facts you will take the proper action.

"Very truly yours,
A Concerned Citizen"

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

9/8/70

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-601)
From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1963

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 8/31/70.

Bureau authority granted to direct an anonymous letter enclosing a BPP coloring book to the manager of the drive-in restaurant which contributes large amounts of hamburger to the BPP Breakfast for Children Program. Insure that the letter sent cannot be traced to the Bureau. Advise of positive results.

1 - 105-165706 (BPP)

ABF:drl
(6)

NOTE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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OTHERWISE.

San Francisco requested authority to direct an anonymous letter to [REDACTED] who has contributed large amounts of hamburger to the BPP. San Francisco files contain no adverse information regarding [REDACTED]. Proposed anonymous letter points out to [REDACTED] that the BPP Breakfast for Children Program in San Francisco area is almost nonexistent. A BPP coloring book is to be enclosed with the letter. Coloring book displays Negroes killing police and businessmen. The letter requests [REDACTED] to consider these facts in relationship to the BPP.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Boyers _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 SEP 11 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

WJ *AS/40* *GC/40* *F* *100*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/4/70

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520) -1*-

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re: Baltimore airtel, 8/13/70.

1. Operations Under Consideration

The R (IROB) recently opened by Baltimore has been effective in obtaining membership coverage in the Black Panther Party (BPP). It is planned that this individual will snatch some important documents from BPP Headquarters and make it look like one of the trusted officials in the Party has absconded with them, however, a suitable opportunity to pursue this plan has not presented itself to date.

2. Operations being Effectuated

The anonymous telephone calls to individuals associated with [REDACTED] designed to disrupt activities of the Soul School continues to have a considerable effect. [REDACTED] have reported that the sale of African merchandise and general attendance at the Soul School location has fallen off and [REDACTED] has recently complained about lack of funds. [REDACTED] indicated he did not even have enough money to attend the Congress of African Peoples in Atlanta, which is being held over the Labor Day weekend.

REC 44 EX-117

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)

1 - Baltimore

JJG:leb

(3)

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OTHERWISE

SEP 9 1970



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

BA 157-2520

3. Tangible Results

Since the original anonymous telephone calls have been effective in disrupting Soul School activity, further telephone calls will be initiated in order to continue this disruption.

4. Development of Counterintelligence Interest

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is presently awaiting trial. In addition, National Headquarters has been critical of the operation of the BII in Baltimore under [REDACTED] in recent weeks, according to confidential sources.

In order to take advantage of this weakness in leadership, the Baltimore Office has under development an [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] activities will be followed and directed closely in order that, if possible, [REDACTED] may obtain a position of leadership.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

9/17/70

Airtel

1 - Baltimore Field Guidance Folder
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

EX-110

To: SAC, Baltimore (157-2520)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1964
REC-121

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBAlet 9/4/70.

Paragraph 1, page 1, of referenced letter indicated you are planning to have an informant take some important documents from the Black Panther Party (BPP) headquarters to make it appear as if an official of the BPP absconded with them.

The Bureau will not condone informants engaging in illegal activities such as described above. The Bureau does not desire that informants be engaged in any illegal activity which could later cause embarrassment to this Bureau. Accordingly, you should discontinue any thoughts of putting this plan into action.

The informant should, if he has access to important records or documents of the BPP, seize upon every opportunity to photograph or reproduce these records for evidentiary purposes. As you are aware, such records are most important as evidence.

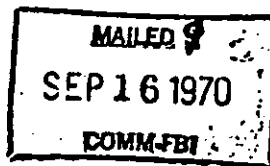
WCP:rrd/kn
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

NOTE:

Referenced Baltimore letter indicated Baltimore planned to have an informant take some documents illegally from BPP headquarters in Baltimore. This could later be most embarrassing to the Bureau and, accordingly, Baltimore is instructed to discontinue this plan.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Herman, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



9751 MAIL ROOM 12 TELETYPE UNIT

JOHNSON
GARY
103
W

FBI

Date: 8/11/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, DETROIT (157-3214)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM
BUDED: 8/14/70

Re Bureau teletype, dated 8/6/70.

Detroit believes that a most effective counterintelligence campaign can be waged against HUEY NEWTON by exploiting the fact that NEWTON [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Detroit recommends that a massive campaign of anonymous letters to various Black Panther Party Chapters and National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) Chapters, be instituted as well as pretext phone calls to these chapters which essentially in content would state that the BPP has been idolizing a [REDACTED]. Although this may not have an immediate effect, it is believed by Detroit that NEWTON could never assume full power again in the eyes of many members, while some members would continue to advocate his leadership of the BPP. This would cause massive internal disruption.

Detroit also believes that NEWTON, upon his release from prison, could be anonymously advised that DAVID HILLIARD had been placing BPP funds in foreign bank accounts, which he eventually would use for his own personal gain. HILLIARD could be depicted as an embezzler who is

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - Detroit
JAW/cmt
(4)

REC-23

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50 SEP 16 1970

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

DE 157-3214

"counter-revolutionary" in that he places his own personal materialism ahead of party principles.

F B I

Date: 8/31/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L A I R M A I L (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Counterintelligence in the San Francisco Division under above captioned program at present is limited to the Black Panther Party (BPP). Following is the counterintelligence activity of the San Francisco Division since submission of last quarterly letter 5/28/70.

1) Photostats of an article by JUDY DOUGLAS entitled "Four Pigs Were Offered This Week...A Victory for the People" taken from "The Black Panther" newspaper, were anonymously mailed on 6/17/70, to seven addressees in the San Francisco area. The addressees were persons who could influence or aid the Black Panther Breakfast Program and the mailing was done in the hopes that their reading of the scurrilous article would cause them to withhold assistance to that program.

2) On 6/19/70, [REDACTED] was contacted and with Bureau authority during the conversation he was advised of the fact that the BPP had set up a new pad at 135 Kiska Road. Since that time [REDACTED] has been most cooperative, furnishing information to the Bureau on BPP activities in and around Hunters Point. He has been established as a Ghetto Source

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco
LSB/jmp
(3)

ST-105

REC-30

SEP 1 1970

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

SF 157-601

and on 8/26/70, advised that on or shortly after 9/2/70, [REDACTED] the BPP from its pad at Apartment 304, 133 Alaska Road.

3) On 7/10/70, an article in the "People's World" entitled "Black Liberation - No Two Ways About It" was mailed to DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff of BPP. The article was very critical of BPP leader ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's stand on black liberation. In addition, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's pamphlet "On the Ideology of the BPP" which was critical of the Communist Party (CP) was mailed to [REDACTED]. The mailings were done in hopes to drive a further wedge between the CP and the BPP.

San Francisco has also requested Bureau authority to anonymously mail to [REDACTED] copies of the BPP Coloring Book and the latest issue of "The Black Panther" in hopes that it will stop further donations from that organization to the Black Panther Breakfast Program.

San Francisco has also requested Bureau authority to mail two anonymous letters to DAVID HILLIARD complaining of the recent stand of HUEY NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the BPP, instructing members of the BPP to relate to the Gay Liberation League, a homosexual organization.

This office realizes the importance of this program and particularly the desire to create any strife between recently released HUEY NEWTON and DAVID HILLIARD. NEWTON, to date, has been fairly inactive but his activities will be closely followed in light of above captioned program and any logical counterintelligence action will be recommended.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : *[Signature]* PITTSBURGH (100-13780) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/8/70

Re Bureau airtel to Albany dated 3/4/68, and
Pittsburgh letter to Bureau dated 6/4/70.

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

This office is presently considering appropriate counterintelligence action against the Black Panther Party (BPP), which has recently established a branch of its National Committee to Combat Facism (NCCF) in Pittsburgh. Appropriate counterintelligence action which will prevent the organization from becoming well established in the Pittsburgh area is being considered.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

This office is effecting the continued distribution of the May, 1970, issue of the newsletter published by the organization Another Side, which newsletter contained an expose of the BPP. This distribution of the newsletter is being done on a continuing basis rather than having been done all at one time, inasmuch as this is considered by Pittsburgh to be the more effective manner of such distribution.

Authorization for this distribution of the newsletter published by Another Side was granted by Bureau airtel dated 6/23/70.

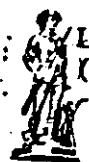
III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

There have been no tangible results from the counterintelligence program during the current period.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Pittsburgh

LMC/map

14 SEP 1970



5010-108-02

REC-46
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SEP 10 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTERESTS

During the summer months, the NCCF has become somewhat ineffective and has suffered a loss of membership and is presently not engaging in any significant activities. The organization does continue to maintain a headquarters in one of the ghetto areas of Pittsburgh, but has been unable to pay its bills and does not presently even have a telephone.

There have been no other significant changes in the overall Black Nationalist Movement in Pittsburgh since the submission of referenced letter.

ROUTE IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 9/3/70

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Rosen _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

This is to advise that counterintelligence measures have caused the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, New York City, to give low priority to request for \$67,000 sought by SNCC to finance one of its operations, the Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia.

SNCC is one of the most notorious black extremist organizations in the country. The New York Office developed information SNCC requested grant of \$67,000 from Episcopal Church Screening Board in New York City to finance one of its operations, the Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia. Request for Atlanta operation was submitted to the Episcopal Church Screening Board so as to conceal SNCC's connection with the Liberation School. Anonymous letters were caused to be mailed to the Episcopal Church Center in New York City informing of the connection between the Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia, and SNCC.

On 8/27/70 SNCC was in possession of a letter addressed to the Liberation School in Atlanta from the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, New York City. This letter informed that due to an increase in requests for funds the Screening and Review Committee had to tighten up on programs funded and the Liberation School was given low priority and applications for funds would be reviewed again only if there was a change in priority and this was not anticipated in the foreseeable future.

100-448006

WCP:amk/fb/1
(8)

REC- 29
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1968
15 SEP 10 1970

97 SEP 15 1970

110

Memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. C. D. Brennan
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
100-448006

This appears to have resulted because of our counterintelligence measures. Since SNCC is in poor financial condition this undoubtedly is a strong blow to its attempts to revitalize itself. The actions of the Episcopal Church in refusing the requests for funds could indicate an encouraging trend concerning a more discerning policy of granting funds to extremist organizations.

ACTION:

None. For information.

Inc/12
Wef
g...

FBI

Date: 6/26/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

REC-29

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-7182) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)

Re New York airtel to the Bureau 6/18/70, and Bureau airtel to New York dated 6/26/70.

On 8/27/70, [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a letter had been received at the SNCC Offices in Atlanta, Ga., from the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, 315 2nd Ave., New York, New York, addressed to the Atlanta Liberations School Program, 360 Nelson St., S.W., Atlanta, Ga. postmarked 8/27/70. The source advised that the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-151140) (RM)
- 3 - Atlanta (1 - 100-7182)
- (1 - 100-6433)
- (1 - 170-287)

RLF/hsg
(7)

REC-29

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OTHERWISE.

Sent _____ M Per _____

Approved: 973 SEP 15 1970
Special Agent in Charge

112

AT 10-7100

It is noted that Atlanta has no information which would indicate that the aforementioned action on the part of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church was in fact a result of the referenced counterintelligence action, although in all probability this could be the case.

Atlanta will remain alert for any information concerning same.

FBI

Date: 8/10/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054)(P)
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE -
BLACK PANTHER PARTY -

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Re Bureau teletype to Los Angeles, Et Al, dated
8/6/70, captioned "Counterintelligence Program, Black
Nationalist - Hate Groups; Black Panther Party (BPP), RM
(Buded: 8/14/70)".

An undisclosed prison official from the California
Men's Colony, San Luis Obispo, California, the institution
where HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense, was recently
released, advised [REDACTED] on 8/7/70, that
NEWTON indicated to an individual at the prison that he had
a fear for his life, stating that a rival group had "a
\$3,000 contract out on him". NEWTON did not further indicate
as to which particular group was seeking his demise.
Historically, however, US, Incorporated, a Los Angeles
based black militant organization, headed by Maulana RON
KARENGA, has been the adversary of the BPP, having already
killed at least three BPP members.

With this in mind, it is suggested that an anonymous
letter (a typed copy is enclosed herewith and marked
Letter A) be forwarded to DAVID HILLIARD, BPP Chief of
Staff, in Oakland, California. This letter is to be
accompanied by a card from US, Incorporated, also enclosed,
and should serve several purposes:

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM) ENCLOSURE ATTACHED
 - 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 3) (RM)
 - 2 - Los Angeles
- EOC:vjh
(6)

AUG 13 1970

Approved: W88
Special Agent in Charge

[REDACTED]

First, it is hoped that, by forwarding the letter to HILLIARD as opposed to NEWTON himself, a measure of HILLIARD's loyalty to NEWTON may be more properly assessed. If sources in San Francisco are able to determine that HILLIARD, in fact, turned this letter over to NEWTON, then it can be assumed that efforts to drive a wedge between HILLIARD and NEWTON could prove futile. If, on the other hand, HILLIARD chooses to keep the contents of the letter to himself and fails to warn NEWTON of the impending danger the letter reflects, then it therefore would be deemed appropriate to direct further counterintelligence efforts towards polarizing these two individuals.

Secondly, if, in fact, HILLIARD does make NEWTON aware of the letter's contents, it may then further add to NEWTON's paranoia and fear for his life which would serve to demean his effectiveness, both as a leader of the BPP and as a public figure.

Thirdly, by enclosing the printed card from US, Incorporated and implying in the letter that the "contract" was initiated by US, Incorporated, this, it is felt, would aid in furthering animosity already existing between these two groups. The resulting paranoia, namely fear of each other, would then serve to lessen both groups' effectiveness in black communities in that both the BPP and US would have to institute time-consuming programs designed towards self-defense.

It is further suggested that another letter emanating from within the Los Angeles Division be directed to HUEY NEWTON. The writer of this second letter (marked Letter B and enclosed herewith) would again be anonymous but the contents would imply that the writer was a former Los Angeles BPP member who had been cused from the BPP during NEWTON's incarceration. The contents of this letter are designed to cast suspicion on the ability of DAVID HILLIARD as a BPP leader and to challenge his authority thereof.

This letter would serve a two-fold purpose:

[REDACTED]

- 2 -

115

LA 157-4054

[REDACTED]

First, by directing this letter to NEWTON from a dissident former BPP member and, in so doing, thoroughly degrade HILLIARD's leadership, it is felt serious doubts as to HILLIARD's ability as a BPP leader could be initiated, thereby planting seeds of polarization between the two individuals. This then would help serve to split BPP loyalties, thereby significantly decreasing its effectiveness.

Secondly, it is hoped that sending such a letter from a former BPP member might suggest to NEWTON that perhaps a reevaluation of ousted membership be undertaken. By suggesting that some former members were unfairly dealt with by HILLIARD and [REDACTED] during NEWTON's incarceration, it is feasible that certain Los Angeles BPP members could be reinstated. Hopefully, it would result in the reinstatement of [REDACTED] which would then result in two important items. First, by reinstating [REDACTED] a serious division in the Los Angeles BPP ranks could be implemented, namely divided loyalties between [REDACTED]. This would then serve to severely impair Los Angeles BPP operations by dividing the loyalties of BPP members between the two aforementioned individuals.

[REDACTED]

It is noted, however, that neither of the previously described letters is designed to have immediate short-range effect; however, it is felt that both letters could serve to initiate several elements which could prove disruptive to BPP operations and, if construed a viable counterintelligence proposal by the Bureau, follow up letters could be sent furthering this divisiveness.

It is noted that in both instances the previously described letters will be handwritten; however, copies enclosed were typed for the sake of clarity. It is further noted

LA 157-4054

that the paper utilized will be unwatermarked bond and the envelope will be unfranked, and both letters will be mailed from an appropriate mailbox in the Watts, Los Angeles area.

It is noted that the typed name appearing on the enclosed US. Incorporated card is the [REDACTED] presently active in the US organization and devoted to RON KARENGA.

Careful measures will be taken to insure that none of the enclosed items will be traceable to the Los Angeles Office.

Los Angeles will remain alert for further counter-intelligence measures which could be utilized as regards HUEY NEWTON.

US

"Anywhere we go, US is"

L.B.

Call me,

are invited

SOUL SESSION

Sunday, 5:30 p.m.

7720 S. BROADWAY • LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90003
(213) 778-0710

118

Letter A

Mr. David Hilliard:

Although I sympatize with the Black Panther Party movement, at this point money is more important and Karenga has money:

I have an "unscheduled appointment" with your leader(?) Huey P. Newton and for three thousand, I will keep any appointment.

I'm writing to tell you that I admire your leadership and don't think Huey deserves to take over after you bilt the party up to what it is. I only hope that, when I have my "meet" that you are not around or if you are you won't get in my way.

L. B.

Letter B

Blood:

Welcome back to Babylon (ha ha). We, the "LA Mistreated 7" know the pig power structure couldn't keep you from the people. Oppressed peoples everywhere cried when you was released from the pigpen, and is ready to grab the gun to show the pigs that with Huey, our true leader, no more pig harassment and oppression will be tolerated.

We, the "LA Mistreated 7" were members of the Los Angeles chapter until we was brutalized and degraded by "G" and David. We still use the ten points as are commandments and wait for the day when we can again join with you, Huey, to "off the oppressor".

David and "G" has run the party like bootlickers. When Paul was running it, it wasn't rhetoric but was political and real action (off the pig - ha ha). We, the "LA Mistreated 7", congratulate the LA 18 but "G", David's lackey, weren't at Central - he was at the pad with his hyped-up whoring bitch and the people know it and don't relate to it.

Letter B

page 2

Revolution isn't talking but more shooting and burning. "G" and David can't kill the pigs with words. Fascists die from bullets, not from lackey "G"'s and David's words. We are the party and, when you need us, we'll be there but David and G are lackeys and we don't relate to booklickers. Maybe you can bring them back but we feel that they are too close to the Zion honky Jews in Beverly Hills. We, representatives of the oppressed people, welcome your return to activate the revolution and await your call.

Death to the pigs! Counterattack.

The LA Mistreated 7

121

FBI

Date: 8/26/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTER

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) *W. J. [unclear]*
DATE *8/26/70* *JNY*

On 8/26/70, [REDACTED]

Since the release of NEWTON on bail in early August 1970, he has made the following pronouncements that could possibly give rise to dissension in the Party. The last edition of "The Black Panther," 8/21/70, carried as a centerfold article NEWTON's eulogy at the revolutionary funeral of [REDACTED]

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - New Haven (RM)
- 1 - New York (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (RM)
- 1 - Seattle (RM)

1 - San Francisco
LSB/jmp (9)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/11/70 BY SP-10 JNY
FBI - NEW YORK

122

[REDACTED] The same issue of the paper, on page 5, set forth a page letter from NEWTON to the effect that the Black Panthers should attempt to unite with homosexuals (as oppressed groups) in a revolutionary fashion.

NEWTON, in a well-publicized interview, has also indicated he intends to forward troops to fight on the side of the North Vietnamese.

Offices receiving copies of this communication should be alert for any signs of dissension in their territory of new policies announced by NEWTON and immediately advise the Bureau and San Francisco in order that a logical counter-intelligence project might be considered.

San Francisco requests the Bureau's permission to mail anonymous letters to DAVID HILLIARD from supposed members of the Party in the San Francisco area deploring the BPP projected link-up with homosexual organizations, and to direct other offices to do the same. A flood of such critical letters could do much to discredit NEWTON in the eyes of other Panther leaders.

[REDACTED]

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

9/9/70

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

From: Director, REC-3(100-448006) 1971

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtels 8/26/70 and 8/31/70.

Bureau authority granted to mail anonymous letters, including text outlined in referenced 8/31/70 airtel, to BPP official David Hilliard deploring BPP link-up with homosexual organizations as unmanly and not "revolutionary." Bureau suggests anonymous letters appear to come not only from supposed members of BPP but also from sympathizers and supporters in ghetto areas. Insure letters are sent in such a manner that they cannot be traced to the Bureau. Advise of any positive results.

1 - 105-165706 (BPP)

ABF:drl/hjr

(6)

NOTE:

BPP leader Huey P. Newton, recently released on bail pending retrial for voluntary manslaughter, appealed in BPP newspaper to "oppressed" groups, including homosexual groups, to unite with BPP in revolutionary fashion. San Francisco suggested sending anonymous letters from supposed BPP members protesting declaration as to homosexuals and pointed out that a flood of such critical letters could do much to discredit Newton in the eyes of other Panther leaders. It is suggested that letters sent also appear to be from BPP sympathizers and supporters.

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UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-448006-1082

MAILED 8
SEP 9 1970
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 SEP 16 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Wef
J.A.S. 9/11/70
11/24

FBI

Date: 8/31/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: *[Signature]* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

The Bureau has previously been advised that there has been opposition within the Party to a recent stand of HUEY NEWTON in "The Black Panther" newspaper and it possibly related to his declaration that Black Panthers should relate to the women's and men's gay liberation league, homosexual organizations.

San Francisco requests Bureau authority to mail the following two anonymous letters to DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, BPP, at 1046 Peralta, Oakland, California. If approval is granted the letters will be typed on different types of plain paper and mailed in different types of unmarked envelopes, one from San Francisco and one from Berkeley. The text of the proposed letters are as follows:

"Mr. David Hilliard,

"I seen by last weeks paper that now Panthers are supposed to relate to c.....s. Huey is wrong. Something must have happened to him in prison. Panthers

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco
LSB/jmp
(3)

REC-3

1-1972

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RACIAL
SECT.

Approved: 97 SEP 13 1970 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

125

57-601

got enough things to do in 10 point program and fighting for niggers without taking up with m..... f..... queers.

"All power to the people."

"Mr. Hilliard,

"Now it says we are to join the queers. The Panther sisters have to fight to keep the brothers from white chicks. Now what do you want us to do, watch them to take up with queers. David why does Huey do this sort of thing. Won't you talk to him.

"A Righteous Sister."

DIRECTOR, FBI

SAC, DETROIT

8/31/70

BLACK STUDENT ORGANIZATION,
KALAMAZOO COLLEGE
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN
RM
(Bufile 157-14017)
(Defile 157-4355)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS
(Bufile 100-443006)
(Defile 157-3214)

Re Detroit airtel to Director, 6/17 and Bureau
airtel to Detroit, 6/29/70.

8/12/70

follows:

After receipt at Kalamazoo College of the order placed by the Black Student Organization with Hacienda Adobe [redacted] advised as follows: [redacted] At this time [redacted] Black [redacted] admitted placing the order for literature and likewise admitted attempting to cover up the actual order and to keep from college officials the exact nature of the material ordered. He claimed that he did not want the college officials to learn of the order because he believed they would confiscate it from him or deny him access to it, which thereafter is precisely what the college did.

[redacted] further advised that [redacted] upon being confronted, appeared to be at a loss to explain the reason for the ordering of the radical literature and he was visibly shaken by the fact that the college found out that

- (2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Detroit
- (1 - 157-3214)
- JMB/rd
- (5)

56 SEP 14 1970

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OTHERWISE.
SEP 3 1970

127
FINAL FILED IN

the order had been placed. He made a feeble excuse that the literature was to go to the local community, however, he was unable to say to whom specifically or why such literature should go to members of the Kalamazoo community.

████████ further made a feeble effort to excuse his actions stating that he believed there to be a federal plan for inturnment of Negroes and he thus needed the literature to familiarize himself with methods of opposing such an inturnment.

████████ also advised that at this time ██████████ was sternly admonished by ██████████ and the order itself was promptly returned to Marienah Adole.

████████ pointed out that the entire confrontation with ██████████ came off very smoothly and while ██████████ was at a loss to explain his actions, at no time did he have the opportunity to even feebly question the method by which the college had learned of the order.

████████ commented that the net result of this situation will be that in the future all student organizations at KC, specifically the BSO, will be required to submit detailed accounts of expenditures of funds provided to such organizations. Furthermore, future activities by ██████████ on behalf of the BSO as well as other individuals acting on behalf of that organization will be carefully and closely watched and such individuals will be given little or no leeway in which to develop a militant or anti-democratic attitude on the KC campus.

9/9/70




ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Artcl

| | | | |
|---------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| To: SACs, Baltimore | (Encls.-25) | Milwaukee | (Encls.-25) |
| Boston | (") | Newark | (") |
| Chicago | (") | New Haven | (") |
| Cincinnati | (") | New York | (") |
| Cleveland | (") | Philadelphia | (") |
| Dallas | (") | Pittsburgh | (") |
| Detroit | (") | Portland | (") |
| Indianapolis | (") | San Francisco | (") |
| Los Angeles | (") | Seattle | (") |
| Miami | (") | Washington Field | (") |

From: Director, FBI (100-440006) (100-44692)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 NEW LEFT
 SECURITY MATTER

1 - Mr. Sullivan
 1 - Mr. Mohr
 1 - Mr. C.D. Brem
 1 - Mr. Bishop
 1 - Mr. Casper
 1 - Mr. C. Moore
 1 - 
 1 - 
 1 - 

Enclosed for recipient offices are 25 copies each of article which originally appeared in 8/14/70 issue of "The New York Times."

EX 106 REC-3 1973

Article highlights fear of Jews to anti-Semitism of New Left and Black Panther Party (BPP). This fear is reportedly based on increasing concern that claim of both that their anti-Zionism represents only hostility to Israel as imperialistic partner of this country, is but terrifying cloak for actual, abusive, hateful anti-Semitism. Article documents instances

Tolson _____
 Sullivan _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop _____
 Casper _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Tavel _____
 Walters _____
 Soyars _____
 Tele. Rm. _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

JFM:bjr
 (71)

MAILED 8
 SEP 9 1970
 COMM-FBI

16 SEP 14 1970

SEE NOT - PAGE TWO

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 OTHERWISE

97 SEP 16 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SAC, Baltimore et al
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM;
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS;
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
100-448006; 100-449698

in radical publications and presents other material which attests to this concern and thus indirectly applies embarrassing anti-Semitic stigma to many organizations of radical New Left and BPP.

To capitalize on same from counterintelligence aspect, article content was prepared in enclosed pamphlet format for anonymous mailing to selected individuals or organizations within areas where full impact of anti-Semitism on part of New Left and Black Panthers can be made. Handle same accordingly. Insure mailing cannot be traced to Bureau and under no circumstance is Bureau to be acknowledged as source of enclosure. Maintain list of addressees for possible follow-up counterintelligence material.

Advise Bureau of positive results obtained.

NOTE:

By memorandum from G. C. Moore to C. D. Brennan dated 8/20/70, captioned "Counterintelligence Matters, New Left-Black Panther Party," Director approved preparation of described pamphlet by Exhibits Section for counterintelligence purpose indicated. Recipient offices selected as most logical for purpose intended.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 9/10/70

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO: Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

FROM:

G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK STUDENT ORGANIZATION)

To advise of highly successful counterintelligence action that exposed to college authorities attempt of Black Student Organization (BSO), Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan, to secure literature concerning explosive devices and guerrilla warfare through use of college funds and that college will preclude similar misuses of its funds.

BSO has participated in black extremist activities. During June, 1970, a Phoenix Office source determined BSO had ordered \$60 worth of pamphlets concerning riots, explosive devices and guerrilla warfare and paid for such literature with check issued by Kalamazoo College. Detroit Office discreetly ascertained check had been issued by College to BSO for purchase of unidentified books.

With Bureau authorization, Detroit source insured upon delivery of pamphlets at the College that BSO's unethical and deceptive use of student activity fees was brought to attention of College authorities. The College President confronted BSO leader with the organization's misuse of College funds. The BSO leader admitted placing the order and admitted endeavoring to conceal nature of material ordered as it was not felt the College would authorize funds for such a purchase. All pamphlets were returned to sender.

REC-10

1974

As result of College authorities learning of this improper use of College funds, they are keeping close watch on BSO and College has tightened administrative procedures to preclude similar misuses of its funds.

ACTION:

None. For information.

56 SEP 28 1970
100-488061-1370
WHA:sef (6)

JN/c

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Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448976)

FROM : SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(90-DAY PROGRESS LETTER)

DATE: 9/10/70

Re San Diego airtels to Bureau 6/1/70, 6/12/70, and 7/29/70, and Bureau airtels to San Diego 6/19/70 and 7/29/70.

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Referenced Bureau airtel to San Diego 7/29/70, granted permission to prepare an anonymous proposal to be sent to [REDACTED] utilizing him as a third party in attempt to influence action by the San Diego City Council and Police Department against the Black Panther Party (BPP). No action is being taken regarding this matter because efforts to reorganize the BPP in San Diego have failed, and currently there is no BPP in this area.

In the event the Imperial Avenue Improvement Association and/or [REDACTED] can be utilized in a counterintelligence program in the future, a proposal will be submitted.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

As set forth in our previous progress letter, distribution of the Bureau-approved business cards concerning RON KARENGA of the US, Incorporated, has been effected. In this connection, although no direct results have been observed, US, Incorporated in San Diego has disaffiliated itself from RON KARENGA and no longer maintains allegiance to RON KARENGA. No tangible results have been reported regarding the previous distribution of other Bureau-approved anonymous notes.

2 - Bureau (AM) (REGISTERED)
2 - San Diego

REC-52

LEW:bef
(4)

SI-121

2 SEP 14 1970

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

132

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

As set forth above, US, Incorporated, in San Diego has disaffiliated itself from RON KARENGA and no longer maintains allegiance to RON KARENGA and this is conceivably the result of our Counterintelligence Program.

[REDACTED] was unsuccessful in his efforts to reactivate the EPP in San Diego. In part this was result of information obtained from [REDACTED] which was furnished to the San Diego Police Department and led to his [REDACTED]

During May, 1970 [REDACTED] obtained information indicating that [REDACTED] was in [REDACTED]. This information [REDACTED] was [REDACTED] and he was [REDACTED]

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

As previously noted, US, Incorporated, in San Diego is no longer affiliated with RON KARENGA and though it has not yet ceased to exist in San Diego, indications are that this organization will change its name and become affiliated with some other type of black militant organization which has not yet been decided upon.

[REDACTED] who continues to [REDACTED] has been the subject of discussion and dissention among older members of the NOI in San Diego. However, he continues to [REDACTED] and the NOI continues to refuse to form any type of coalition with any other black militant organization.

The Mexican-American community in Southeast San Diego has not been giving any support to the small militant faction of this community. Although informants have reported that seven local Mexican-American youths participated in the Mexican-American disturbance in Los Angeles, California during the latter part of 1970.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/10/70

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1751) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, 6/10/70.

1. Operations Under Consideration

By airtel dated 8/10/70 to the Bureau, it was suggested that an anonymous letter be forwarded to DAVID HILLIARD, Black Panther Party (BPP) Chief of Staff, Oakland, California, setting forth the fact that HUEY P. NEWTON feared for his life as a rival group had a contract out on his life and that this group could well be "US". Another letter was suggested wherein suspicion be cast on the ability of DAVID HILLIARD as a BPP leader and this letter be sent to HUEY NEWTON. This might serve to split BPP loyalties.

The Los Angeles Office continues to follow violations of the antiriot and gun control laws by black nationalists for possible prosecutions of these individuals under Federal and State statutes.

Telephone toll calls of various black nationalist leaders are continually reviewed under existing Bureau policy to determine what counterintelligence programs might be placed into effect.

2. Operations Being Effected

Reference is made to Los Angeles airtel to Bureau dated 6/17/70 setting forth that a letter from a fictitious person would be sent to [REDACTED] in answer to his column of [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
2 - Los Angeles
(1 -157-4054)
LWS/gcw
(4)

REC-3

SEP 14 1970

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



60 SEP 23 1970

134

LA 157-1751

6/10/70 in which he stated that [REDACTED] would be present at the 6/13/70 BPP sponsored fund-raising function. This letter indicated that [REDACTED] might have gone too far in her association with the BPP.

On 7/28/70, material furnished by the Bureau was given to [REDACTED] who stated that he would like to make a series of the material especially in the area of the white liberals contributing to the BPP. [REDACTED] planned to air this material sometime after 8/31/70.

Exhaustive interviews of suspected and past members of black nationalist groups continue in an effort to develop informants and these interviews serve to create distrust among the militants and the defection of peripheral members.

3. Tangible Results

No information has been received from informants or other sources reflecting any reaction to the counterintelligence programs now in effect or those which were carried out in the past.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

Information concerning the activities of the black nationalist groups continues to be furnished on a daily basis to the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office Intelligence Division and the Intelligence and Criminal Conspiracy Divisions of the Los Angeles Police Department in the anticipation that such information might lead to the arrest of these militants.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-443006)

FROM : SAC, BIRMINGHAM (100-5492) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/10/70

ReBuairtel to Albany, 3/4/68.

ReBuairtel instructs a 90-day progress letter be submitted using the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration

Birmingham does not have at present any counterintelligence operation under consideration.

2. Operations Being Effected

Birmingham does not have at present any counterintelligence operation in the process of execution.

3. Tangible Results

None

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

None

REC-21

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Birmingham
RSM:mfl
(3)

12 SEP 14 1970

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

58 SEP 13 1970



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/14/70

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (157-503) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Re Buffalo letter, 6/4/70 captioned as above.

During the recent past, a chapter of the National Committee to Combat Racism (NCCR) has commenced operation at 255 East Ferry St., Buffalo, N.Y. Intensive and aggressive investigative attention is being afforded this matter. Careful scrutiny has been initiated into the organizational setup of the NCCR with specific attention being directed to its leaders.

Tangible Results

Buffalo established sources and racial matter sources have previously been contacted and alerted to the formation of a local NCCR Chapter.

As a result of continued investigation and continuous contact with one of these aforementioned sources,

This information was immediately relayed to the Buffalo, N.Y. FBI and

The arrest of [redacted] received wide coverage by the local news media and as a result, responsible local Negro leaders became highly critical of [redacted] and the local NCCR Chapter. This unfavorable publicity and condemnation by local respective leaders of the Black Community will undoubtedly cause disruption

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Buffalo

JEK:cer

(3)

REC 45

SEP 16 1970

RACIAL INT. SEC.

59 SEP 24 1970

SI-123

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



BU 157-593

among local NCCF leaders and seriously hamper future recruiting efforts of the NCCF Chapter. It is anticipated that this unfavorable publicity focused on the local Chapter will also reduce its future effectiveness and will lose any attraction it may have established among local young Blacks.

Buffalo will continue to explore potential counter-intelligence techniques and when so developed, will be submitted to the Bureau for Bureau authorization to utilize the proposed techniques.

FBI

Date: 9/15/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK UNITED FRONT)

ReBuairtel, 9/1/70.

[REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] on 9/14/70, that cancellation or nonrenewal of [REDACTED] membership in the National Rifle Association (NRA) would not prohibit [REDACTED] from using the facilities of the [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] advised that any member of the [REDACTED] could still invite [REDACTED] to shoot.

[REDACTED] described the [REDACTED] as a well established, reputable club having many members from the so called "high rent districts" of WDC and nearby Maryland. [REDACTED] advised the [REDACTED] was formed many years before the Black United Front came on the scene.

[REDACTED] was interviewed by SAs of the FBI in connection with another matter on 9/9/70. It was noted at the outset of the interview that his membership in the NRA was framed and hung on the wall of his living room beneath several rifles.

REC 45

(2) - Bureau
2 - WFO

(1-157-2752 [REDACTED])

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OTHERWISE.

Sent

M RASAL

HGE:ED1
54 SEP 25 1970
Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

1977

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[REDACTED] stated he enjoys shooting as a sport and looks upon it as a duty to instruct any person who wants to learn concerning the proper and safe handling of firearms so that person can also safely enjoy shooting and hunting as a sport or be able to defend himself should his life ever be endangered by attack.

[REDACTED] stated he attends most every meeting of the BUF but has never joined that organization or paid dues. He advised that he personally is against violence and violence prone organizations such as the BPP. [REDACTED] stated it would be absolutely impossible for him to shoot at any person unless he was absolutely certain he had to shoot to save his own life.

[REDACTED] readily admitted the recent purchase of weapons but claimed all were legally purchased and registered in accordance with existing gun laws.

[REDACTED] invited the Agents to view his gun collection and to join him as his guest at the [REDACTED] any Saturday to practice. This latter request was tactfully declined.

Near the end of the interview, [REDACTED] casually mentioned he had some contact with the [REDACTED]

It would not appear that depriving [REDACTED] of membership in the NPA would prevent him from continuing to give training to BUF members in the use of firearms and therefore, no tangible gains could be achieved by having his membership cancelled or revoked.

Local authorities and ATF advised re GUEY reportedly handling and disposing of hot guns.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

9/16/73

1.

airtel

To: SAC, Baltimore (157-2526)

From: Director, FBI (100-44260C)

CONFIDENTIAL INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReLAairtel 9/3/70 captioned "Black Panther Party,
Los Angeles Division, Racial Matters."

Referenced airtel indicated [redacted] of Baltimore Black Panther Party (BPP) complained that [redacted] claiming [redacted] play favored a one-sided origin. [redacted] was attempting to discover the origin of letters evidently from the Los Angeles area that [redacted] was using to create the dissension.

who is a [REDACTED] apparently is identical with:

This discussion offers an excellent opportunity to spread discussion and cause disruption of BPP activities in Baltimore. Baltimore give consideration to this matter and submit recommendations regarding action to be taken.

REC-61

WCF:mda
(1)

ST-113

11571:

SEP 18 1973

In view of dissension in Baltimore ~~and Baltimore~~
Division is being asked for recommendation concerning
counterintelligence possibilities.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

07 SEP 28 1970

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DIRECTOR, FBI

9/16/70

SAC, WFO

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
WASHINGTON, D.C. CHAPTER

RM - BPP

(OO: WFO)

(P)file 105-165706 Sub 53)

(WFOfile 157-2825) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-STATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

RM - BPP

(Bufile 100-448006)

(WFOfile 157-1292) (P)

Re WFOairtel and LHM, 9/14/70.

Referenced LHM reports information from [REDACTED] indicating the WDC Chapter of the BPP is receiving furniture and clothing from what is believed to be McBride's Variety Department Store in WDC, which was formerly donating these items to the Salvation Army.

Of paramount importance in combating BPP effectiveness in the black community is the need to take advantage of every opportunity to discredit the Party and its various propaganda programs, such as the Free Clothing Program.

(3) - Bureau
2 - WFO

SJR:tdl
(5)

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With this in mind, WFO suggests a letter be written to McBride's Variety Department Store, using stationery of the Black United Front (BUF), whose antagonism toward and dissatisfaction with the BPP is a well known fact among the black community of WDC. In this letter it will be pointed out to McBride's the true purpose of the BPP's clothing program and the fact the material donated will be primarily used by BPP members for their own needs and only those items which the BPP feels to be valueless would be turned over to the people of the community.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

The Bureau is requested to grant authorization to WFO for the implementation of the above suggestion. Any known results of this operation will be promptly furnished the Bureau.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

9/18/70

1 - [REDACTED]

Airtel

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6109)

From: Director, FBI (100-443006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

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ReSFairtel 9/14/70 entitled "Black Panther Party,
Charlotte Division, Racial Matters."

Based on information set forth in referenced airtel there appears to be factionalism within the Winston-Salem BPP organization. Charlotte should thoroughly review referenced airtel and submit counterintelligence proposals to take advantage of the friction between the two BPP groups. You should also clarify the status of the "renegades" as well as the identity of the individual discussed as possibly going "underground."

The aggressive action in the counterintelligence program to disrupt the BPP in Winston-Salem to date is noteworthy and this appears to be another opportunity to capitalize on incidents to drive a further wedge between the BPP groups and the local Negro residents in Winston-Salem.

1 - San Francisco

JGI:rrd
(5)

NOTE:

REC-34

10/13/70

10 SEP 22 1970

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Henson, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
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Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Referenced San Francisco airtel described that

[REDACTED]

97 SEP 28 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

Airtel to Charlotte
Re: Counterintelligence Program
Black Nationalist - Hate Groups
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

It was also reported that plans were being made to place an individual underground but this individual was recently observed leaving the headquarters of the renegades. This individual was identified only as [REDACTED]. Informants have previously reported dissension between the BPP group and their leaders.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
ATTENTION: [REDACTED]
FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (100-29488) (P)
SUBJECT: RACIAL MATTERS
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (VISUAL AIDS)

DATE: 9/21/70

Re Seattle letter to Bureau, 7/24/70.

No items of interest to captioned program have occurred in the Seattle area since the last submission.

Information has been received to the effect a 13 year old boy recently responded to an ad contained in the back section of "Popular Mechanics" magazine. In response to the ad addressed to Ecco Products, Box 189, Northvale, New Jersey, he received a package from Belton Products, Box 28, River Edge, New Jersey.

This box contained numerous fire cracker type cardboard empty tubes of various sizes, end caps, and fuses.

The boy received a second package about a month later from Ecco Products, supra, which contained two cellophane bags each of aluminum powder and salt peter.

[REDACTED] has explained that when these two ingredients are mixed in equal portions they provide their own oxygen and serve as an explosive. The final mixture, when poured into the empty firecracker tubes, capped, and fused, makes a dangerous explosive device, the type of which has been used recently in the bombing of various telephone booths in the Seattle, Washington area.

Inquiry has been initiated concerning this matter. Photographs of the firecracker tubes, end caps, and fuses can be made and furnished the Bureau if desired in connection with captioned matter.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Seattle
CRS/djs
(4)

REC-2
ST-103
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SEP 24 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

59 OCT 1 1970

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SE 100-29488

The Seattle Division remains alert for events or items rendering opportunities to obtain visual aid examples of militancy and will submit such items as received.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-443006)

DATE: 9/23/70

FROM : SAC, New Haven (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

References: Bureau teletype to Baltimore 8/6/70;
New Haven letter to Bureau 8/12/70;
Bureau airtel to San Francisco 8/28/70;
San Francisco Airtel to Director 9/8/70.

Proposal made in New Haven letter of 8/12/70 pertaining to preparation of a Panther trial news publication would have to be a type of project which would be produced almost instantly after the BPP put its authentic newsletter on the stand. At the present time it is not feasible for New Haven to submit full text of proposed flyers.

Currently there are no trials of Black Panther members in progress at New Haven, Conn., and it is suggested that this counterintelligence proposal be held in abeyance until such time as trials resume.

New Haven at that time will again submit proposal with suggestions for effectiveness.

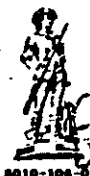
2-Bureau
1-San Francisco (157-601) (info)
1-New Haven
JEG/lrf
(4)

REGISTERED MAIL

REC-22

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UP
INSECT.



8 OCT 2

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

148

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/27/70

FROM : SAC, New Haven (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

HL

ReBulet 8/19/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau is an amended page to the proposed counterintelligence leaflet entitled "Let's Compare the Ten-Point Program of the Black Panther Party with 'Like It Is'," which was forwarded to Bureau by New Haven letter 8/7/70. *ALSO ENCLOSED IS A CORRECTED LEAFLET.*

As instructed by the Bureau, point number 9's rebuttle has been changed to depict the kangaroo court-type justice which the BPP has allegedly used in the past.

2-Bureau (Encl.) (RM)
1-New Haven
IMG/lrf
(3)

Noting am

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RECEIVED FBI. SECT.

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OTHERWISE.

149



LET'S COMPARE THE TEN-POINT PROGRAM OF THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY WITH "LIKE IT IS"

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

"LIKE IT IS"

1. We want Freedom.
2. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
3. We want full employment of our people.
4. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black Community.
5. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

1. Ask any member how long he or she can be out of contact with the Party without being disciplined. "No freedom in the Party Ask [REDACTED] about freedom!"
2. The destiny of the Black Community is to be ruled by the Party. Have you ever told a Black Panther "no" when they asked something of you?
3. The words "our people" is the catcher. This really means the people of the BPP. Have you ever been helped by a BPP member to get a job? No! Ask any member the last time he tried to get a job for himself THE ANSWER WILL BE, "I GOT ONE," "I WORK FOR THE MOVEMENT."
- Webster's New World Dictionary states that a capitalist is one who has capital. With that definition, the BPP is a capitalist organization, for the gross income of that organization would far exceed your wildest dreams. Where does this money come from? You and me. Ever get any money from the Party? Who is robbing who?
4. The finance of the BPP is out of sight, yet dig the pads that are set up as headquarters. You will say that it is the best they can do, or it is symbolic. Good, check the labels in the clothes of the leaders and then go price that "front" in the clothing store. Have you ever asked a Panther to aid in getting a pad, and all you get is double talk but no help.

We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society.

We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.

7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people.

5. That old Uncle Tom talk, "I ain't got no good means of obtaining an education. The party or no one else can say that a good education is only for whites. Ask to go to any school, and you can go. This is a great talking point for persons who have not gone to school any longer than was necessary.

I say to this part of Point 5 Right-on, but I can't say Right-on to the Party that takes kids that can't think for themselves on any subject, but play and drill into them to kill. Don't take my word for it, drop by some times and lend an ear. You be the judge.

6. Let's call a club a club and believe it, a club will be used by all countries, at odds with the U. S. on any person in the U. S. Man, because you are black, don't exempt you if we lose!

7. Again, we have a standard cry of most persons who are known to break the law, and violent object to being apprehended and punished for same. In today's work-a-day world the word brutality has had its fair share of abuse. Any time one is arrested and carried in for questioning the standard vanguard cry is "police brutality." Is it really brutality? Or just a means of drawing attention? Then put Black in front of it, and everyone gets up in arms.

We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

8. As has often been stated by those in authority or rule of Black Panther Party, we are in existence only to serve the people. Now I ask you does this statement release all Black men from prisons sound as though they are looking out for the best interests of the community? As in any judicial system certain people that may be innocent, white or black, may be sentenced unjustly, but the statement "free all" is a little irrational.

9. On this point I have but one question as is the question in the minds of many in the community when the Panthers state that all Blacks brought to trial should be tried by their peers. Are they referring to the type of trial that was held for their former brother members [redacted] and [redacted]. The point of one being tried by his peers is just and a good law, but a kangaroo court by anybody is a kangaroo court. If [redacted] were here, I'm sure they could tell you "like it is."

10. Every item that is mentioned in point ten can be obtained by any individual that has the gumption to obtain same. The poetic statement used in point ten which implies black separatism closely parallels that of another archaic group better known as the KKK. Black Panthers, Kluxer and any other group that feels that the races can live alone should only look at any country in the world and try to pick one that you find only one kind of individual or race. Impossible, isn't it?

To the Panthers and any other group tell it like it is and not like it ain't!

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1
1

Mr. H. W. Hagan (187-735)

9/8/70

REC-400

1984

Director, FBI (100-449666)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 8/27/70.

Authority is granted to reproduce your proposed counterintelligence leaflet entitled "Let's Compare the Ten-Point Program of the Black Panther Party with 'Like It Is'". You should furnish at least three copies of this leaflet to all field divisions having BPP branches. These offices should be instructed to reproduce the leaflet in sufficient quantities for distribution to individuals upon whom it should have an enlightening effect. The offices should be instructed to make distribution only by anonymous mailings which cannot be traced to the Bureau. Bureau should be advised of tangible results.

WDH:sal
(5)

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NOTE:

The Ten-Point Program of the BPP contains the thrust of BPP propaganda in ghetto areas as well as white circles from which the BPP wants support. Most of the Points are legitimate goals for which the black community is striving such as freedom, full employment, decent housing, education, the end of police brutality, juries drawn from the peer groups, etc. New Haven has prepared a leaflet containing in the left hand column the Ten-Point Program of the BPP and opposite it in the right hand column captioned "Like It Is," the actual interpretation of the Points as practiced by the BPP. In the right hand column New Haven points out that freedom to the Panthers is the discipline of the Party, employment is working for the Party, education is frowned on by the Panthers, etc.

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Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
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Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
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Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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DIRECTOR, FBI

9/23/70

SAC, WFO

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(Bufile 100-449698)
(WFOfile 157-1292) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
SECURITY MATTER
(Bufile 100-448006)
(WFOfile 100-47757) (P)

ReBuairtel to WFO 9/9/70.

On 9/20/70, WFO prepared a mailing list of 25 names to which a copy of the article outlined in referenced airtel was mailed. This article was mailed in plain stamped envelopes purchased directly from the post office, so that it would be impossible to trace the mailing to the Bureau.

Recipients of the article were selected on the criteria of their involvement in the New Left movement, Black Power movement, or their prestige in the Jewish Community.

A list of those who received a copy of this article is being maintained in WFO file.

4-Bureau
2-WFO

EJH:cjb
(6)

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NOT RECORDED
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154

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 9/23/70

Re Indianapolis letter to the Bureau, 9/20/70.

A succinct summary of Black Nationalist Movement in the Indianapolis Division is set forth below:

A. NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

The Indianapolis Division presently has seven mosques or temples with two of those being numbered or designated. Temple Number 31, located at South Bend, Indiana, is the largest, having approximately 60 members, and the other numbered mosque is Number 33, which is the second largest, located at Gary, Indiana, having approximately 40 members. There are approximately 25 members of the NOI at Indianapolis, Indiana, which is the third largest mosque in the state. In addition, mosques or temples are located at East Chicago, Evansville, Fort Wayne and Muncie, Indiana, each having five or six members.

Membership in the NOI has remained fairly stable with only a slight decrease in the total number of members since last reported. Little activity takes place on the part of the NOI in the Indianapolis Division, with the NOI holding only regular meetings, which are conducted by the NOI ministers of the respective temples or mosques. All of the ministers have received their instructions at Chicago, Illinois, and have received the exact same instruction; which they follow with no change.

The NOI receives financing through sales of their newspaper "Muhammad Speaks" and also from several businesses, known as the Shabazz Enterprises in Indianapolis. Also included in the way of finances are dues collected regularly from members.

REC-6

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Indianapolis
LLG:plp
(3)

10 SEP 28 1970

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5010-108-02

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There have never been any problems in the Indianapolis Division caused or threatened by the NOI, and the NOI is not generally considered to pose a threat to the U. S. Government or to the peace in the Indianapolis Division. However, while the NOI has not caused any problem because of strong religious conviction in what they are doing, if once motivated, could be a real threat to the peace of the state. There is no reason at the present time, however, to consider them a threat and they do not appear to be violence prone at this time.

B. Black Panther Party (BPP)

The Black Panther Party (BPP) no longer occupies its headquarters at 113 West 30th Street, Indianapolis, after having abandoned that location.

The BPP has acquired a new headquarters known as the Eldridge Cleaver Community Information Center, 414 East 23rd Street, Indianapolis. Since moving to their new location, the BPP has enjoyed, during the summer months, an increase in interest, primarily on the part of youth in the neighborhood, who were out of school for the summer.

Membership in the BPP has continued to be approximately 8 to 10 active members, with possibly 10 to 15 members, who show up for political education classes and various rallies on occasion, but without any apparent real devotedness to the cause. The main leader is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Until September, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] in the first of [REDACTED] conflict broke out between [REDACTED] with the result that [REDACTED] was now dropped out of the BPP, and no longer wants any part of the organization. The effect of his leaving the BPP has not yet been known, as to whether it will hinder or help the BPP, but it is believed that [REDACTED] absence will definitely hinder the BPP's relationships on the college campuses and with white radical groups. [REDACTED] had been the

IP 157-761

main liaison man between white individuals and students on the college campuses as his main interest was with these two groups, unlike that of [REDACTED]

Activity on the part of the BPP in Indianapolis has been relatively small with the chapter holding political education classes, attempting to start a breakfast program and speeches on the various campuses and at rallies in the State of Indiana. Other activity has included helping persons interested in the BPP, to organize in the Dayton, Ohio area, in recent months.

Also the BPP took a great interest in the student elections at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, where [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] openly admitted his affiliation with the BPP, prior to his election and afterwards, however, still managed to win the election.

The Fred Hampton Memorial Community Center, located at 2101 North Broadway, Gary, continues to operate under the [REDACTED]. The BPP in Gary has had essentially no contact with the Indianapolis chapter of the BPP and carries on all of their business with members of the Chicago chapter of the BPP, in Chicago, Illinois.

Attempts have been made to gain funds for the breakfast program in the Gary area, however, no breakfast program has materialized.

Activity of the BPP in Gary has been limited primarily to organization and to politically educating and orienting the small membership, which they now possess.

No real problems have been caused by the BPP in the Indianapolis Division and while they have not been involved in any acts of violence to date, they are considered to have the most potential for violence of any of the Black extremist groups presently operating in the Indianapolis Division.

IP 157-761

The BPP continues to be followed closely with a monthly summary airtel and evidentiary report.

1. Operations Under Consideration

The NOI, in continuing its non-violent approach to date, has not been considered for any counterintelligence measures, other than an interview program, which continues to be maintained.

Interviews of BPP members and of relatives have been utilized to a large degree and will be continued on a regular basis. Through interviews with BPP members and other local black groups, attempts are made to continue to promote a jealousy which exists among the leaders of the various groups. Any opportunity to promote this jealousy is seized upon at the time of interview and through use of informants. These measures will be continued as they have proven quite effective in the past in keeping any black organization in the Indianapolis area from becoming a large or unified group.

2. Operations Being Effectuated

As mentioned above, interviews with individuals who are members of black organizations are done on a regular basis and all attempts to promote any differences of opinion or jealousy between the organizations and their leaders are utilized.

Under this method of operation, a number of interviews have been conducted with [REDACTED] and in addition to these interviews [REDACTED] interviews have been conducted with [REDACTED] as a result of contact with the mother and [REDACTED] he has now become inactive and is no longer in the BPP.

3. Tangible Results

The BPP in Indianapolis has been unable to maintain a strong leadership position, as conflict between the leaders [REDACTED] have been promoted through interviews with [REDACTED]

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In addition, [REDACTED] mother, who is not impressed with the BPP, nor her son's involvement, has continued to be a contact, which finally had fruition in [REDACTED] becoming inactive in the BPP. [REDACTED] mother, who was cooperative with Agents, continued to push her son to get out of the BPP, and in addition, at the suggestion of Agents, also encouraged [REDACTED] to have [REDACTED] get out of the BPP.

In [REDACTED] did quit the BPP, as a result of pressure from his mother and wife and his departure culminated in a conflict between [REDACTED] and himself, whereby [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] that he could not quit the BPP, as he was being thrown out of the BPP.

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest

There have been no further developments of counterintelligence interest than those mentioned above in the previous sections of this letter.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. Kinson
1 - Mr. Agent

9/25/70

11111

To: SAC, Atlanta (100-7182)

From: Director, FBI (100-148006)

**COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL MATTERS (GEORGIA BLACK LIBERATION FRONT)**

Reference Atlanta report 9/11/70 captioned "Georgia Black Liberation Front, Racial Matters."

Information contained in rerep concerning the relationship existing between the Georgia Black Liberation Front and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta appears to offer an excellent entree for exploitation under captioned program.

Atlanta promptly submit recommendations for such action based on data set forth in rerep as well as that developed in the interim by your office. Take no positive action in this regard without obtaining specific Bureau approval for same.

REC-36

PEH:acs
(5)

10 SEP 25 1970

NOTE:

The Georgia Black Liberation Front (GBLF) is a black extremist revolutionary organization headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia. The organization recently was allowed use of a vacant residence adjacent to the West Hunter Street Baptist Church in Atlanta of which Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) President Ralph Abernathy is president. This residence was to have been used as the site of the GBLF's breakfast program which has failed to materialize. The GBLF has refused to vacate the premises, which is occupied by a number of armed GBLF members.

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Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
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Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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160

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/25/70

FROM : SAC, SAVANNAH (157-629) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Reference is made to Savannah letter to Bureau dated 2/24/70, and Bureau letter to Savannah dated 3/9/70.

Savannah is resubmitting the recommendation set forth in Savannah letter to Bureau dated 2/24/70 and enclosed herewith for the Bureau is page 2 of the proposed letter. Also enclosed for use by the Laboratory in preparing the [REDACTED] signature, if the Bureau approves this measure, is an unmailed, undated letter from [REDACTED] Chicago, Illinois, and two pages of handwritten notes signed [REDACTED] These should be returned to the Savannah Division after they have served their purpose.

This suggestion is being resubmitted at this time for the following reason:

Savannah carried [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was opened on [REDACTED] on 7/30/70 on the basis of the allegation that [REDACTED] had played some part in the riots. Subsequent investigation has indicated that at least some of this information about [REDACTED] participation in the riots may have been false and exaggerated [REDACTED]

Savannah has continued to contact [REDACTED] for information concerning the status of the SNCC operated Third Eye Lounge and its employees. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on, [REDACTED] and the [REDACTED] Black Panther operation at Augusta, Georgia.

- (2) - Bureau (Encs. 4) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (Info.)
- 2 - Savannah

CMD:hsc
(5)



5010-106-02

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6/1/71, 10/7/70 - 85

SEP 28 1970

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161

SV 157-629

[REDACTED] has been described by local authorities and sources as poor and money hungry and he appears to be attempting to straddle the fence insofar as his association with the various militant groups at Augusta is concerned.

[REDACTED]

Another example of [REDACTED] trying to straddle the fence on racial and political issues is the fact that he uses [REDACTED] a staunch and longtime states rights advocate.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It may be that [REDACTED] does not [REDACTED] to antagonize the Black Panthers for fear of retaliation, possibly by fires, since [REDACTED]

If this counterintelligence letter is sent to [REDACTED] it does not appear that any harm could come so far as the [REDACTED]. It is not believed that [REDACTED] will contact [REDACTED] about this letter even if he should receive it for fear of antagonizing [REDACTED] and the Black Panthers. It is hoped, however, that upon receipt of the letter [REDACTED] will come to understand the true nature of the Black Panther Party and instead of furnishing contributions to them in any larger sums, will reduce any such contribution to a bare minimum and at the same time be [REDACTED]

If the Bureau approves, this letter will be mailed at Augusta under circumstances described in referenced Savannah letter to Bureau.

One copy of this letter is furnished San Francisco for information as they are origin of the Black Panther Party.

ROUTED TO THE DIRECTOR

SAC, Savannah (157-629) **EX-102**
REC-32
Director, FBI (100-448006)

10-5-70

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS

1 - [REDACTED]

Reurlet 9-25-70.

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Enclosed for Savannah is an unmailed, undated letter from [REDACTED] two pages of handwritten notes signed by [REDACTED] and page 2 of proposed letter. The enclosures being returned to Savannah per request.

The counterintelligence proposal submitted by relet has received close study by the Bureau; however, it is not being authorized.

The Bureau notes that the counterintelligence proposal would be the submission of a letter to [REDACTED]. It is also noted that [REDACTED] has been [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has furnished some information regarding [REDACTED]. It is also noted that the letter has some derogatory references to employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity. It is possible that a letter such as this could be circulated in a Negro community or even published in a newspaper. It would not be proper for the Bureau to create suspicion or mistrust of the activities or personnel of another Government agency.

It is not believed at this time that the mailing of the letter would serve a worthwhile purpose. You should continue an aggressive counterintelligence program and submit future proposals to the Bureau for consideration in your effort to drive a wedge between the Black Panther Party and reputable Negroes within the state [REDACTED]

JOI:bad (5)
1 - San Francisco

Enclosures - 4

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

- Tolson _____
- Sullivan _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Brennan, C.D. _____
- Callahan _____
- Casper _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Tavel _____
- Walters _____
- Soyars _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

97 OCT 14 1970 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

163

Letter to SAC, Savannah
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
DISRUPTION OF HATE GROUPS
100-448006

NOTE:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
to [REDACTED] Savannah has recommended the mailing of a letter
[REDACTED], who is known to have supported [REDACTED] and the
EPP organization in the past. It was recommended this letter
bear the forced signature of [REDACTED] and contain derogatory
comments by [REDACTED] in an attempt to disrupt their relationship.
[REDACTED] has been a source of the Savannah Office but it is
believed he has not furnished complete information in his
possession at times to the Agents. The Laboratory has
indicated it would be possible to duplicate [REDACTED]
signature for use as above but it is felt the technique
should be reserved for cases of more importance and priority.

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) (100-449698) DATE: September 25, 1970

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
SM

ReBuairtel to Baltimore, dated 9/9/70.

Enclosures with referenced airtel have been handled per instructions set forth in referenced letter.

A record has been made of the names of recipients for possible future counterintelligence follow-up material.

The Bureau and San Francisco will be advised of any positive results obtained as a result of this action.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

REC 8

10 SEP 28 1970

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-601) (Info.) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago

JPM/hmm
(7)

RECEIVED
OCT. 5 1970

165

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 -

SAC, WFO (157-1292)

9/24/70

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReWFOlet 9/16/70.

WFO is authorized to send letter to McBride's Variety Department Store in Washington, D. C., as outlined in referenced letter.

Care is to be taken that the FBI cannot be determined the source of this letter. Advise Bureau of any tangible results.

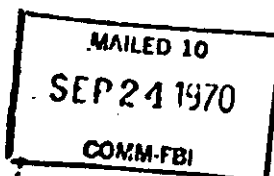
WCP:bkr/sal
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

NOTE:

WFO obtained information from [REDACTED] that furniture and clothing donated formerly to the Salvation Army by McBride's Variety Store is now given to the Black Panther Party. WFO has determined BPP members use the best clothes and give only valueless items to the people. WFO recommended that a letter be mailed to the above department store on stationery of the Black United Front disclosing BPP use their donations for own use. Such a letter could reduce donations to the BPP as the Black United Front is well known in the black community in Washington, D. C.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



SEP 29 1970

OCT 1 1970

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

766
6

9/23/70

Airtel

To: SAC, Columbia (100-324)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

ReSFairtel 9/23/70, entitled "Black Panther Party,
Columbia Division, RM - BPP."

Based on information set forth in referenced airtel,
it appears that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has fallen into disfavor with BPP headquarters at
San Francisco.

Columbia should thoroughly review reairtel and
determine through informants if the NCCF is operating in
Charleston or is being disbanded. You should also determine
if leadership has been assumed by some other individual
presently active with this group.

Columbia should submit counterintelligence proposals
to take advantage of the present friction between headquarters
in San Francisco and the chapter in Charleston. It appears
this may be an opportunity to capitalize on this incident to
drive a wedge between the two BPP groups.

JOI:maz
(4)

51-111

REC-83

SEP 23 1970

MAILED 10
SEP 23 1970
Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

NOTE:

Referenced San Francisco airtel reported that
[REDACTED] had reported on 9/21/70 that an individual by
the name of [REDACTED] had contacted [REDACTED]

970015 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

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Airtel to Columbia
Re: Counterintelligence Program
Black Nationalist - Hate Groups
Racial Intelligence
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

BPP national headquarters and spoke with [REDACTED]. The discussion concerned [REDACTED] [REDACTED] made it clear that [REDACTED] was not authorized to do anything in the name of the BPP and in fact [REDACTED] had traveled to San Francisco in August, 1970, for instructions regarding organizing an NCCF chapter in Charleston.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006) (100-449698) DATE: 9/28/70

FROM : SAC, New Haven (157-785) (100-19687)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
SECURITY MATTER

Re Bureau airtel 9/9/70, which enclosed article which originally appeared in 8/14/70 issue of "The New York Times."

The above article has been mailed to fifteen synagogues in the Greater New Haven Area where it was felt full impact of anti-Semitism on part of New Left and Black Panthers could be made. A list of addresses for these synagogues is being maintained for possible follow-up counterintelligence material.

Bureau will be advised of any positive results obtained as result of above mailings.

2-Bureau (RM)
2-New Haven
ING/lrf
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

REC-11

SEP 29 1970

RECEIVED

59 OCT 6 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan.

169

F B I

Date: 9/25/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or _____)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Charlotte teletype 9/11/70 captioned "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RACIAL MATTERS," San Francisco airtel 9/14/70 captioned "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RACIAL MATTERS," and Bureau airtel to Charlotte, 9/18/70.

Referenced San Francisco airtel refers to _____ between _____ at BPP Headquarters and _____ and _____ at Winston-Salem, N. C., as reported by _____

Among these _____ problems, two BPP members were recently arrested for robbery

3-Bureau (2 - 100-448006) (RM)
 (1 - 105-165706 Sub 8)

2-San Francisco (Info) (RM)
 11-Charlotte (2 - 157-6109)
 (1 - 157-6171) (BPP)

(1 - 157-
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THG: fcr
 (16)

2 SEP 29 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

66 OCT 2 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE.

170

F B I

Date [REDACTED]

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6109

and gave the address of the BPP office as their home address. [REDACTED] reported that plans had been made to put an individual underground. This person was identified only as [REDACTED] and was recently seen leaving the Renegade House. The Renegades were not identified.

Referenced Charlotte teletype reports the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and both gave their home address as National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) Headquarters, Winston-Salem.

[REDACTED] with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] subsequently [REDACTED] At the time of arrest he was in the company of [REDACTED] who has now dropped out of the BPP group. [REDACTED] was given a [REDACTED] and returned to Winston-Salem, continuing to be friendly with [REDACTED] although [REDACTED] is out of the BPP. [REDACTED] has been called the [REDACTED] It would appear [REDACTED] was referring to an effort to help [REDACTED] leave the Winston-Salem area if he can get out on bond.

According to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] is an [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Investigation will be instituted re [REDACTED] as she appears to be a BPP member at Winston-Salem.

[REDACTED]

- 2 -

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

171

FBI

Date: [REDACTED]

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext)

Via _____

(Priority)

CE 157-6109

It is noted that the individuals referred to by [REDACTED] as Renegades would be the group loyal to [REDACTED]. After [REDACTED] left the BPP group, [REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED]. On discovery of the theft, [REDACTED] and a group of [REDACTED] supporters went to [REDACTED] house and removed the furniture at gunpoint.

The Bureau should note that Charlotte has, with Bureau approval, distributed a number of letters under the guise of the SVRP favorable to [REDACTED] and running down [REDACTED] and the current BPP membership at Winston-Salem. In addition, under the guise of "The Committee of Twenty-five," an additional newsletter has been submitted in Winston-Salem primarily to businesses and churches in the eastern half of Winston-Salem. This, written in the vein of a neighborhood organization with religious orientation, was an effort to drive a wedge between the BPP and the local Negro residents in Winston-Salem. It appears these letters have met with remarkable success in creating dissension and factionalism within the BPP group and its former members.

In addition, on 9/9/70 [REDACTED] who was mailed one of the letters, reported that he considered it to be from some small church group formed to drive the Black Panthers out, believing many people felt this way but were afraid to speak out. He believed

- 3 - [REDACTED]

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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F B I

Date: Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6109

that it would sway a lot of people who were on the fence in their thinking concerning the BPP into opposition to the Panthers and considered it a good idea to generate resistance to the BPP.

Additional proposals will be submitted for counter-intelligence operations based on up-to-date contacts with informants at Winston-Salem for an assessment of the full situation.

- 4 - Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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OUT IN ENVELOPE

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - New 12/35/73 Field Guidance

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

Airtel

To: SACs, New Haven (157-785)
New York

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

ReNYairtel bearing BPP caption 9/25/70 reporting
information furnished by [REDACTED] on 9/18/70.

Referenced airtel discloses that [REDACTED]

A counterintelligence maneuver aimed at neutralizing
effectiveness as a BPP functionary is most desirable at
this time especially in view of information previously developed
that [REDACTED]
New Haven and New York coordinate efforts in this regard and
submit counterintelligence recommendations in accordance with
instructions contained in Bureau airtel to Baltimore dated
3/20/70, captioned "Black Panther Party (BPP) - Racial Matters,"
copies of which were furnished to New Haven and New York. Take
no action without prior Bureau authority.

New Haven immediately and discreetly ascertain
if [REDACTED] is currently receiving welfare from a state or local
welfare agency in [REDACTED] New Haven should also endeavor
to ascertain to whom credit cards have been issued which are
being used by [REDACTED] at this time in which [REDACTED] has reportedly
accumulated [REDACTED]

WDN:rrd/sal
(10)

AGTS: [REDACTED]

Buairtel mentioned above
concerns investigative and counterintelligence steps to be taken in
of this nature.
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

MAILED 3

SEP 30 1970

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

REC-57
ST-113

SEP 1 1970

970

8

11/14

F B I

Date: 9/22/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054)(P)

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM

Re Bureau airtel to Los Angeles, Et. Al, dated 9/16/70, and Los Angeles airtel to the Bureau dated 8/10/70.

For the information of the Bureau, "Letter B" as set forth in referenced Los Angeles airtel dated 8/10/70, was mailed on 9/22/70 to HUEY P. NEWTON in Oakland, California. It is noted, however, that information, as of yet, is unavailable as to measure positive results of this letter. *Ag*

Enclosed hereto is one copy of "Letter A", which has been revised to eliminate the utilization of a card of a rival militant group so as to eliminate the possibility of the Bureau being placed in the position of aiding or initiating a murder.

REC-57

ST-113 *new*1994
SEP 26 1970

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 1)(RM)
1 - San Francisco (Enc. 1)
2 - Los Angeles
DOC:vjh
(5)

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

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|-------------------|---------|
| SEARCHED | INDEXED |
| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| FBI - LOS ANGELES | |

Approved: *W. G. L.*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Letter A

Mr. David Hilliard:

Although I sympathize with the Black Panther Party movement, at this point money is more important, and I have been offered money.

I have an "unscheduled appointment" with your leader(?) Huey P. Newton and for \$2,000 I will keep any appointment.

I am writing to tell you that I admired your leadership, taking the Party from nothing to something and was disappointed when I read that Huey, a pigpen graduate and queer, now, as supreme commander, outranks you.

I may contact you later to see if you have a better offer, if not then maybe your on his side and I can get the ante upped.

Anyhow, I only hope that when I have my "meet" and believe me I will, that your not around or if you are, you won't get in my way.

L. B.
Los Angeles

176
1917

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Los Angeles REC-57 (157-4054)

9/30/70

Director, FBI (100-448006) — 1994

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 9/22/70.

Bureau authority to direct anonymous letter, identified as 'Letter A' and described in enclosure to reairtel, to David Hilliard is denied. While Bureau appreciates obvious effort and interest exhibited concerning anonymous letter suggestion for captioned purpose, studied analysis of same indicates implied threat therein may constitute extortion violation within investigative jurisdiction of Bureau or postal authorities and may subsequently be embarrassing to Bureau.

JFM:bjr
(4)

NOTE:

As part of counterintelligence effort to disrupt BPP leadership, Los Angeles submitted anonymous letter to be mailed to David Hilliard, BPP Chief of Staff, designed to erode Hilliard's confidence in recently released BPP leader Huey Newton. Implied therein is existence of \$3,000 contract on Newton. While suggestion has merit, introduction of implied threat so practically necessary for desired results, presents weakness described above.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
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Rosen _____
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Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 OCT 9 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 9/14/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

By Airtel _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-531)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Bureau letter to Boston dated 8/24/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are four additional copies of the ADL report on the Black Panthers. One copy is enclosed for New Haven.

2-Bureau (Encs. 4) (RM)
1-New Haven (Enc. 1) (RM)
2-Boston
(1-134-1471)
MEL:rem
(5)

REC-43

14 SEP 15 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

OCT 12 1970

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

M

Per _____

178
1995

Not for Republication

The Black Panthers

The Black Panthers

The Black Panther Party has been the subject of wide coverage by the media in its four years on the American scene. Every aspect of the Panthers' activities, except one, has been intensively probed in depth and publicly described at length. The exception: its attitude toward Israel, Zionism and Jews.

Anti-Semitism is the ADL's primary concern and, accordingly, its research into the Black Panthers has concentrated on this neglected facet of the Party and of its leadership and publications; all else is set forth as the background against which the anti-Semitism is manifested.

Introduction

The American people embarked on the decade of the 1970s in malaise and in a mood of anger, confronted by the most serious domestic challenge since the Civil War—the unsolved racial problem.

Fresh in many minds as the decade began were the ominous findings and categorical imperatives for action recently set forth by two Presidential Commissions. In 1967 and 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders probed in depth the causes of the great urban racial riots that had lately rocked the country. In 1968 and 1969, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence studied the causes of the many varieties of violence that had marked American life in the 1960s—assassinations, crime in the streets, group violence and political violence. Both Commissions, named by President Lyndon Johnson in the wake of shattering national events, drew essentially similar conclusions about the causes of the disorder and rested their basic recommendations for future remedial action on essentially similar assumptions.

Both groups found the roots of the nation's civil disorder and violence in its unsolved racial problem and in the attendant social malignancies of racism, discrimination and poverty. Both groups—the Kerner Commission and the Milton Eisenhower Commission—warned against the racial alienation and political polarization that had emerged as symptoms of the basic malady and that had produced disorder, violence, and political extremism. And both Commissions found the malady curable—if the American people had the will to attack

it by massive social and economic programs costing billions and sustained over many years. The Kerner Commission declared, in part:

"This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal . . . Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American . . . This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement can be reversed. Choice is still possible . . . To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic American values.

"The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society . . .

"Violence cannot build a better society. Disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice. They strike at the freedom of every citizen. The community cannot—it will not—tolerate coercion and mob rule . . .

"It is time now to turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation . . . It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens . . ."

The Eisenhower Commission declared:

" . . . we believe that the twin objectives of the social order must be to make violence both unnecessary and unrewarding. To make violence unnecessary, our institutions must be capable of providing justice for all who live under them—of giving all a satisfactory stake in the normal life of the community and the nation. To make violence unrewarding our institutions must be able to control violence when it occurs, and to do so firmly, fairly, and within the law.

"The Preamble of our Constitution does not speak merely of justice or merely of order; it embraces both . . . If we are to succeed in preventing and controlling violence we must achieve both of these goals."

The Black Panthers: Background

Extremism nurtures, and is nurtured by, our most serious problems. It spotlights our failure to find solutions—and at the same time, ironically, makes finding solutions all the more difficult.

The Black Panther Party (BPP), so visible in the nation's news headlines, is an extremist by-product of our unsolved racial problem, the problem that has

180

many black Americans understandably frustrated, angry and hopeless, undermining their faith in both the ability and the willingness of the American society to extend to them the political equality, economic opportunity, and social justice to which they are entitled.

As an armed revolutionary group, the BPP identifies with similar regimes and movements overseas, both in the Communist world and in the so-called "Third World." As an example, the Panthers have formed an alliance with Al Fatah in their war against Israel. The BPP has emerged as the leading supporter in the American black community of the Arab cause, and of Al Fatah in particular.

The Black Panther, weekly newspaper of the party, regularly publishes Fatah communiques, interviews with Fatah spokesmen, and pro-Fatah declarations by Panther leaders that frequently contain denunciations of Israel and Zionism, often reflecting outright hostility to Jews—*as Jews*. In the Panther attack upon the "Zionist" it is often clear that the target is the Jew.*

The Black Panther has a weekly circulation of better than 100,000.

The Black Panther Party was formed in the San Francisco Bay area during 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. It expanded rapidly during the latter part of 1968 and reached peak strength early in 1969 when it had a membership of 2,000 to 3,000—a minuscule minority of America's black population of more than 20,000,000. Beyond that, knowledgeable observers say, the BPP had gained the support of more than 60,000 non-member sympathizers. Today, in the wake of arrests, the death, imprisonment or self-exile of some of its top leaders, and a concerted drive against it by law enforcement agencies, the party's membership is barely 1,000—although Panther sympathizers continue to be estimated in the scores of thousands.

While the Panther mystique appears to have made some inroads in the black community, especially among ghetto youth, the standing of the party among black Americans cannot be compared to the overwhelming

support and respect commanded by such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Panthers have, nevertheless, managed to gain a nationwide following in the last two or three years—not only among blacks but among the predominantly white organization of the Radical Left.

In addition, the drive by law enforcement agencies against Panther units from coast to coast has aroused in responsible liberal circles, concern that the civil liberties of the Panthers may have been violated and that the BPP has been the target of undue harassment by law enforcement authorities.

These concerns reached a peak in the aftermath of the December 4, 1969, police raid on a Panther lodge in Chicago during which Illinois Panther leader Fred Hampton and a party member were killed by police bullets.

Press reports in the days following the episode cast serious doubts on the police claims that they had been met by heavy gunfire from the Panthers. Investigations were launched to explore the facts surrounding the Chicago episode that not only cost the two Panthers their lives, but resulted in indictments against several surviving members on charges of attempted murder.

An official five-month investigation, carried out by a special Federal grand jury, aided by a U.S. Department of Justice investigating team, issued a report on May 1970, charging that the police had grossly exaggerated Panther resistance in the December 4 confrontation. The report stated that only one shot could be attributed to the Panthers, while police fired anywhere from 10 to 99 shots, including those that killed the two Panthers. It added:

"... the performance of agencies of law enforcement, in this case at least, gives some reasonable basis for public doubt of their efficiency or even of their credibility..."

(In part because the Panthers involved had refused to testify, contending that the special grand jury not composed of their "peer group," the jury that it was unable to determine whether or not officers involved had intentionally deprived the Panthers of their rights, so no indictments were returned against the police.)

*Voluminous evidence of the pro-Arab, pro-Fatah, anti-Israel, anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish content of articles in *The Black Panther* and in statements by Panther spokesmen is contained in the records of the Anti-Defamation League. For reasons of space, the entire record is not being reproduced in this report.

FACTS

is a periodic report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Seymour Graubard, national chairman; Dore Schary, Henry F. Schultz, honorary chairman; Leonard L. Abess, B. Balaban, Harry Brandt, Jack A. Goldfarb, Jacob K. Javits, Philip M. Klutznick, Gustave L. Levy, Leon Lower, Robert R. Nathan, Abraham A. Ribicoff, Chester H. Roth, William S. Seale, Melvin H. Schickler, honorary vice men; Joseph Cohen, Charles Goldring, Alan R. Morse, Paul H. Sampliner, Theodore H. Silbert, Mrs. Harry St. vice chairmen; Maurice Blazer, David Coleman, Maurice N. Dannenbaum, Herman Fineberg, Louis Freedman, Goldstein, Label A. Katz, Harold Lachman, David A. Litter, Irving Louis, Edward Miller, Philip Mitchell, Mrs. Perlman, Jefferson E. Peyer, Max J. Schneider, Sidney Spearman, Samuel Tarnish, Louis Zera, honorary life bers; Benjamin Greenberg, honorary treasurer; Richard M. Lederer, Jr., treasurer; Burton M. Joseph, assistant over; Edward Goldberger, secretary; Lawrence Peizer, assistant secretary; Benjamin R. Epstein, national dir. David A. Rose, chairman, executive committee; Norman J. Schlosman, vice chairman; William A. Wexler, pres. B'nai B'rith; Jay Kaufman, executive vice president; Mrs. Michael Shapiro, president, B'nai B'rith Women; B. Nath, chairman of Civil Rights Committee; Arnold Forster, general counsel and Civil Rights director.

FACTS is edited by Jerome Bakst, director of the Research and Evaluation Dept.

Late in June, 1970, a special Cook County prosecutor was appointed to impanel a special grand jury and to re-open the investigation into the slayings of Hampton and Mark Clark, the other Panther who was killed. The action was taken by the Chief Judge of the Cook County Criminal Court following petitions for such action by a number of organizations.

Law enforcement officials around the country have repeatedly denied the charges of Panther leaders that the party has been the target of coordinated harassment. They point to the fact that the Panthers are an armed organization, and to the firearms and explosives often discovered in Panther installations. They cite the fact that since October, 1967, six policemen have been killed and 47 wounded in confrontations with the Panthers around the country, and they call attention to the slogans of "kill the pigs" in *The Black Panther*, as well as to illustrations in the paper showing Panthers killing policemen, usually drawn as pigs. They state that in some cases, the Panthers have carried out planned ambushes of policemen and other law enforcement officers.

Law enforcement officials point out further that the Panthers have exaggerated the number of their members killed by police. On December 12, 1969, the BPP headquarters in Berkeley, Calif., issued a press release, listing 20 Panthers they claimed were killed "in cold blood" by the police. Authoritative sources, carefully examined, indicate that 10 of the 20 so listed were killed in gun-fights with police officers. Of the remaining 10, four were killed by a rival black extremist group called "US" with headquarters in Los Angeles. Two were found dead in the streets of separate cities, killed by persons unknown. Of the other four, one was killed by his wife, one by a store owner during an attempted holdup, and one died in a hospital of barbiturates. The violent death of the fourth resulted in indictments against 14 BPP members in New Haven, including party chairman Bobby Seale.

Armed Revolutionaries

The Panthers are committed to the destruction and overthrow of existing American society through the tactics of guerrilla warfare.* They regard those who support them, regardless of color, as allies. Their enemies—those who do not support their programs and tactics—include the majority of black citizens who be-

lieve in working for equality through the American democratic system and who seek integration into the nation's mainstream.

The Panthers say they are engaged in the "class struggle" against capitalism as set forth by Karl Marx rather than in race war. But whereas Marx saw the industrial proletariat as the key instrument for revolution, the Panthers regard blacks in the "lumpenproletariat" as the instrument for revolution in the United States and themselves as the "vanguard" party in the struggle. The Panthers reject mass rioting; they seek to mobilize the ghetto masses for urban guerrilla warfare. True "Black liberation," they say, will come only after a period of "armed struggle" and the replacement of the existing system with a non-capitalist state.

Every Panther must own a firearm and know how to use it, according to the organization's rules. The penalty for failure to do so is expulsion from the party.

In an article, "The Correct Handling of a Revolution" that first appeared in *The Black Panther* of July 2, 1967, and that was reprinted in the May 4, 1968 issue, party co-founder Huey Newton wrote:

"When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going to the streets in large numbers and when they see the advantage of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example. But first they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a Gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter and the revolutionaries' executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance . . . it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution."

Panther Ideology

The pro-Arab, pro-Fatah, anti-Israel posture of the BPP is the product of an ideology that is an amalgam of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, "Che" Guevara, North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung, Robert F. Williams (a black revolutionary who recently returned to the United States from self-exile in Cuba) and Red China and who has long preached the message of urban guerrilla warfare in America) and of Frantz Fanon, the Martinique-born psychiatrist who took part in the Algerian revolution and advocated violence for "colonized" peoples.

While most American blacks consider themselves the chief victims of the race prejudice that taints American society, few share the Panthers' view of black people in America as an exploited "colony" class in an oppressive white-controlled "mother country." Nor do they agree that freedom and equality can only be achieved by destroying the capitalistic system of the "mother country" through a revolutionary class war. On the other hand, the Panthers, referring to the U.S. as "Babylon" and "AmeriKKKa," say that each person is either part of the solution, or part of the problem.

*Substantial evidence of the rhetoric of violence employed by the Black Panther Party is contained in the records of the Anti-Defamation League. For reasons of space, the record is not being reproduced in this report. In November, 1968, part of the evidence was submitted to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, in an ADL report, *Political Extremism and Violence in the United States*. The ADL report was requested by the Commission's Task Force on Assassination and Political Violence, which provided a grant.

Frequently quoting Mao Tse-tung, that "political power comes through the barrel of a gun," the Panthers see themselves as engaged in the same kind of struggle being waged by the Viet Cong in Vietnam and previously by revolutionaries in Algeria and Cuba.

Like most of the Radical Left, the Panthers view Al Fatah as fighting a similar war of national liberation against Israel in the Middle East. They regard Israel as an oppressor nation and a tool of American capitalist imperialism, and they parrot the Arab propaganda line that the Jews in Israel have no right to a land which, they say, belongs to the Arab Palestinians.

In this ideological framework, *The Black Panther* provides a ready forum in the United States for the Arab cause and for Al Fatah. And some of the pro-Arab, pro-Fatah, anti-Zionist, and anti-Israel Panther pronouncements have a blatantly anti-Jewish thrust.

Israel, Zionism, Jews

On December 28, 1969, *The Washington Post* published a Reuters dispatch from Algiers, reporting that Eldridge Cleaver, self-exiled Panther Minister of Information, and Yasser Arafat, Al Fatah leader, had embraced and kissed at the first International Congress of Committees of Support for Palestine, attended by some 200 delegates representing groups supporting Al Fatah in its warfare against Israel. Arafat reportedly rejected a peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis and Cleaver delivered a speech described in the dispatch as "a fierce attack on 'American Zionists.'" Cleaver was quoted as having declared:

"We can no longer allow Zionists to point to the bones of the victims of Nazism and blind us to the piles of bones they are making of the Palestine people."

Reuters said that Cleaver had stressed the role played by a number of Jewish Americans, including Arthur Goldberg, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., and Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's foreign affairs advisor. The dispatch added:

"Cleaver said Jewish intellectuals were helping Nixon formulate his domestic policies and added that Black Panther leaders Huey Newton and Bobby Seale were sent to prison by Zionist magistrates."

(Cleaver was reported to have denied that the Panthers are anti-Semitic, contending that the party is "anti-imperialism, anti-oppression, anti-slavery" and that it was necessary "to make a distinction between Zionists and Jews because there are young radicals who are also of Jewish origin.")

Cleaver was also interviewed by *El Moujahid* (described in an Associated Press dispatch from Algiers as "the official Algerian newspaper"), and reportedly declared: "Zionists, wherever they may be, are our enemies."

Cleaver was further quoted as asserting that in the

struggle of our people for its liberation." In an interview with a reporter for *The Washington Post*, he provided what he claimed was an example. Commenting on the investigation being planned by an unofficial "Commission of Inquiry" into the recent tensions between police and Panthers in several American cities, he said a commission to be headed by former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg—Cleaver was quoted as saying:

"The power structure is trying to take control of the situation by using a well-known Zionist and appointing 11 Tom Congressmen like (Illinois Democrat Charles) McNamara and (Michigan Democrat John) Conyers and two well-known and discredited Uncle Toms like Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young to erect a facade of concerned and official responsibility."

"Here comes Goldberg investigating a group that is a threat to both the Uncle Toms and the Zionists."

Also interviewing Cleaver in Algiers, veteran magazine editor and writer Don Schanche, despite his own generally understanding attitude toward the Panthers, had no words in describing Cleaver's anti-Semitism as "latent" and "growing." In the May, 1970 issue of *The Atlantic*, Schanche quoted Cleaver as saying:

"I think it's very functional to be down on Irish, the Anglo-Saxons, and Jews. I think that black people have an interest in exacerbating the antagonisms between these groups. I'd like to see them at each other's throats."

Schanche added:

"And every day, no matter where we were in Algeria, I talked disparagingly of Israel. I'm talking about Zionism but I think that all Jews, particularly in the United States, have a responsibility to understand what Zionism is, what is actually happening in their name. They have been deceived by a lot of manipulation by Jewish capitalists. United Jewish Appeal. When it comes to this whole question of Israel, they're all paralyzed. It's necessary to make a distinction between Zionists and Jews, between Jewish lords and Jews, Jewish capitalists and Jews."

"... Later discussing Al Fatah, he said, 'We want just like those dudes.'"

Cleaver's statements in Algiers were not the only ones in which the anti-Jewish thrust was obvious. *The Black Panther* of December 21, 1968, published a long speech he delivered at Berkeley, Calif., a speech in which he made the following statements:

"We're going to call a spade a spade, a Jew a Jew, a pig a pig."

"If the Jews like Judge Friedman are going to be at the junction, and come to their synagogues to pray on days, or do whatever they do down there, then we'll make a coalition with the Arabs, against the Jews..."

"You see you got some good Jews, some bad Jews, they're some Jews who need killing. You got some Anglo-Saxons who need killing—and they got some niggers who need killing. You got a whole lot of people in this country who are out of order."

More recently, the BPP paper has published statements by other Panther spokesmen in which it

lage of their "anti-Zionist" verbiage. For example, in its issue of April 25, 1970, Connie Matthews, international coordinator of the party, commented on the "Chicago 7" trial, stating in part:

"It was a Zionist judge, Judge Hoffman, who allowed the other Zionists to go free but has kept Bobby Seale in jail . . ."

She added:

"The other Zionists in the . . . trial were willing and did sacrifice Bobby Seale . . . to gain publicity . . ."

(None of the other defendants in the trial, some of whom were Jewish, profess Zionism. Quite the contrary, in fact.)

Miss Matthews' statements were part of a larger attack on the so-called "White Left" whom she charged with failing to follow Panther leadership and with being "in a state of confusion and bewilderment" because it "is comprised of a large percentage of the Jewish population." She explained that after the BPP announced its support of the Palestinian guerrillas, "the White Left started floundering and became undecided. This leaves us with no alternative than to believe that a large portion of these people are Zionists and are therefore racists."

The May 19, 1970 issue of *The Black Panther* contained a statement signed by Zayd-Malik Shakur of the Harlem Branch of the BPP. He said in part:

"We are anti-Zionist expansion in the Arab world and Zionist exploitation here in Babylon, manifested in the robber barons that exploit us in the garment industry and the landlord merchants and greedy slumlords that operate in our communities."

Pro-Arab Propaganda Themes

Panther propaganda denouncing Israel often comes from Arab sources—for example, Al Fatah materials re-published verbatim in *The Black Panther*. At other times, Arab propaganda themes are presented by the party's leaders and spokesmen in their own extremist vocabulary.

Among the more common Arab propaganda themes promoted by the Panthers:

- Israel is fascist and Nazi-like.
- Israel is an aggressor.
- Israel is a tool of Western and American imperialism.
- Zionism is a reactionary movement, spawned by imperialism.
- The Arabs and Al Fatah are fighting a war of national liberation.
- A peaceful settlement in the Middle East is not acceptable to the Arabs; the Arabs must and will fight to victory or death.
- The Arab cause is linked to the Panther struggle and the struggle of colonial peoples everywhere.

Fatah manifestos published by the Panthers and BPP leaders' own statements frequently strike more than one of these themes. For example, *The Black Panther*, August 30, 1969, devoted a full page to an article. Don Cox, BPP Field Marshal, published under a bold face, scare headline that read:

"ZIONISM (KOSHER NATIONALISM) + IMPERIALISM = FASCISM."

Cox's article, covering at least four of the basic themes stated in part:

"The Zionist fascist state of Israel is a puppet and lackey of the imperialist and must be smashed. Reparations must be made to all displaced people, all the people who were forced to flee their homes by demagogues like Ben-Zion and his lackey, the imperialist. All the property stolen by the Zionists with their fascist storm troopers led by Moshe Dayan and the aid they received from the imperialist must be returned to the people of Palestine! . . ."

"... what the Zionists and the State of Israel did and are doing to the Arabs can be and is equated to what the Nazis did to the Jews."

"... Zionism is nothing more than negative, backward, reactionary nationalism—Jewish nationalism, Kosher nationalism. The philosophy of Zionism is reactionary nationalism . . ."

The October 25, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* devoted two full pages of small type to a speech by Eldridge Cleaver delivered before an international convention of Communist journalists held in Pyongyang, capital of Communist North Korea, late in September of the speech, the text of which was adorned with traits of the Panther leader and North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung. Cleaver stated:

"The U.S. imperialist aggressors must cease their role as merchants of death and destruction who are guilty of financing and arming and protecting the arrogant, Nazi-like Zionist land-grabbers who have usurped and plundered the Fatherland of the Palestinian people."

The May 19, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* published the text of a message sent to the Panthers by the Information Department of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, an Arab terrorist organization. Appearing under the headline, "Arab People Committed to Fight Until Victory or Death," the message promised a "people's war that will subdue the culturally advanced imperialist forces" and added this:

"The P.F.L.P., after getting to know what you aim and fight for, announces that it supports you morally in the liberation that we fight for. We are all in the same boat, facing the same ENEMY. LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION AGAINST IMPERIALISM."

Panther Cartoons

The anti-Israel thrust of the Panthers' propaganda is often articulated through the cartoonist's brush. For *The Black Panther* by Emory Douglas, the Minister of Culture. While for several years Douglas' handiwork has been mainly confined to depicting

men as pigs being stabbed, shot, or otherwise dismembered by Panthers, several issues of the Panther paper in the spring of 1970 devoted full pages to multi-color Douglas cartoons that singled out Israel, "World Zionism," and "American Imperialism" as their chief targets—always depicted as pigs.

The March 21 issue, for example, devoted almost the entire back page to a cartoon showing two pigs—"U.S. Imperialism" and "Zionism"—kissing, snout to snout. The pig labeled "Zionism" wore a black eye patch and held aloft in one arm a religious sceptre crowned with a Star of David. The entire front page of the same issue was devoted to another multi-color Douglas cartoon—a massive pig labeled "U.S.A." suckling two piglets, one labeled "Israel," the other "West Germany."

A March 28 cartoon, under the headline, "If the Enemy Refuses to Get Out Annihilate Him," showed two bullet-riddled pigs, again labeled "U.S. Imperialism" and "World Zionism."

The April 11 issue devoted its back page to a Douglas cartoon featuring a group of pigs labeled "U.S. Imperialism," "Britain," "France," "West Germany," and "World Zionism." "World Zionism" was depicted sucking a baby's bottle filled with dollar signs and held by the pig labeled "U.S. Imperialism." "World Zionism's" distended stomach was shown bursting, with a dollar sign emerging through the rupture. Accompanying text carried derogatory material about each of the "pigs." With respect to France, for example, the text referred to French President Pompidou's connections with "The Rothschilds."

Panthers and Fatah

Underscoring the close ties between the Panthers and Al Fatah were two reports broadcast by CBS News Correspondent Richard C. Hottelet from Algiers on January 30, 1970. Hottelet reported:

"A spokesman for Al Fatah, the biggest Palestine Arab guerrilla organization told CBS News today that close ties of solidarity and cooperation are being established between his group and the Black Panthers. A man who bears the alias of Abu Bassem said that he spent two months in the United States and Canada a year ago, looking into the strength and prospects of the Panthers, and that the Fatah high command was now acting on his favorable report. The next step, he said, was that Eldridge Cleaver, who lives in Algiers, would go to Jordan in two weeks at the invitation of the Fatah leader Yasser Arafat to spend two or three weeks touring Fatah positions there. It was under discussion, said Abu Bassem, to train Panther leaders in actual combat against Israel, and also to train them in sabotage for the campaign of assassination and destruction of capitalist factories which will mark the struggle against U.S. racism and exploitation. We are in the same trench, he went on, but Chairman Mao Tse-tung says that just war will succeed, because man is the decisive element."

Another Hottelet newscast from Algiers later the same day contained some additional details. The CBS correspondent now reported:

"Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther leader who is living in Algiers, has accepted an invitation from Al Fatah, the main Palestine Arab guerrilla organization, to visit its base in Jordan. A spokesman of Al Fatah told CBS News that Cleaver would be leaving here in a fortnight for a stay of two or three weeks, and the visit will usher in a period of solidarity and cooperation between Al Fatah and the Black Panthers. This will begin, he said, with exchanges of delegations, and he continued, it is now under discussion to train Black Panther leaders in Fatah bases and to have Black Panthers take part in Fatah operations in the Middle East. . . . The Al Fatah spokesman added that Black Panthers were already being trained in North Korea, Cuba and North Vietnam."

The CBS dispatches followed other reports of several private meetings between Cleaver and Arafat in Algiers during the meetings of the Congress of Committee Support for Palestine on December 25-28, 1969.

It was reported that Cleaver and Arafat had discussed mutual cooperation and support and that Cleaver offered the Panthers' help for any acts of terrorism that Fatah might request—in the United States, Israel, elsewhere. Cleaver reportedly told Arafat that the Panthers stand ready to destroy any embassy or other installation the Fatah might want destroyed anywhere.

Cleaver also told Arafat the struggles of the Panthers and the Fatah were directed against the same enemies: Jews, the United States, and others. Cleaver said the Panthers had trained their people for any action, even for suicide missions.

Arafat reportedly said the time had not yet come for such activities outside of Israel, but that such a time would eventually come.

In the meantime, the reports said, Cleaver and Arafat had agreed to set up a continuing liaison committee and Arafat agreed to a request from Cleaver for supplies of "military" equipment, including—when necessary—the training of the Panthers in the use of such equipment by Fatah experts.

Panther Party Program

When Newton and Seale launched the Panthers in 1966, they called it the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and placed heavy emphasis on persuading Black people in the Bay area ghettos to arm themselves against the police. Along the way the phrase "for Self-Defense" was dropped.

In launching the party, Newton and Seale promulgated a "Ten-Point Program" that remains the basic credo of the party. It is reprinted in full each week on the back pages of *The Black Panther*, but often seems to be overshadowed by propaganda appeals to violence.

Each of the ten basic points of the program—most of which is unassailable—is followed by a paragraph of discussion setting forth reasons for the demand. The ten demands are:

"1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community."

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"2. We want full employment for our people.

"3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community." [This point originally referred to "robbery by white racist businessmen" and the change appears to reflect the increasingly Marxist orientation of the Panthers in recent years.]

"4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

"5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

"6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

"7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

"8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

"9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

"10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny."

The Ten-Point Program concludes with the opening sections of the American Declaration of Independence, asserting the right of the people to "alter or abolish" governments which become destructive of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and "to institute new government."

Panther Organization and Growth

The BPP first attracted nationwide attention in May, 1967, when an armed contingent of party members led by Bobby Seale invaded the California capitol at Sacramento where stricter gun control legislation (opposed by the BPP) was under consideration. The party nevertheless remained essentially a local organization until mid-1968, when it entered a period of rapid growth from coast to coast.

By May, 1970, there were approximately 40 Panther chapters and affiliated units in operation around the country. The Panther-affiliated groups include "National Committees to Combat Fascism" or "Community Information Centers," which function just as the BPP chapters do, and are under the control and discipline of the BPP National Headquarters, recently moved from Berkeley to Oakland. The name "National Committee to Combat Fascism" was originally meant to apply to new "anti-fascist" local groups composed of black and

white radicals, but such working coalitions never materialized. The "Community Information Centers" reflect an effort by the BPP to develop a formal apparatus for its local community programs and political activities. They may also indicate a desire to operate under banners that are not immediately identifiable with the party itself. In this respect, the names of some of the "Centers" are of interest: A short-lived St. Paul "Center" was called the "Martin Luther King-Huey P. Newton Community Center." In Mt. Vernon, N.Y., a unit was called the "Nat Turner Community Information Center," and in Reading, Pa., the unit was simply called the "Reading Community Information Center."

In any case, despite some obvious organizational problems, the Black Panther Party is today a nationwide organization whose revolutionary message and activities appear to have made certain inroads in black communities across the country, especially among the young—most Panthers, in fact, tend to fall into the 16 to 35 age bracket.

Membership 'Purges'

The party's growth in the latter half of 1968 was so rapid that during the following year, Panther leader felt obliged to rid the organization of unreliable and undisciplined newer members.

An article in *The Black Panther* of January 25, 1969, bearing the headline "Panther Purge," announced that "in order to preserve democratic centralism and destroy ultra-democracy within our ranks," the BPP Central Committee had decided "to purge members within the Party to rid ourselves of opportunism" and "petty bourgeois individualism. The statement added that "all those who aspire to opportunism are directly related to the repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat . . ." *The Guardian*, an independent radical newsweekly reported in its February 1, 1969 issue that the Black Panthers had "launched a campaign to purge its ranks of 'fools and jackanapes'" and quoted Seale as stating that the party was "tightening" its membership. He told the paper that the BPP would accept no more members for three months "while we intensify our political education." During the months that followed, *The Black Panther* published frequent, and sometimes lengthy lists of former BPP members who had been purged from the ranks of its branches throughout the country.

The 'Time'-Harris Poll

A recent survey of attitudes and opinions in the American black community, conducted by public opinion analyst Louis Harris for TIME Magazine and published in the April 6, 1970, "Special Issue" on "Black America 1970," suggested that sympathy and support for the Panthers may be even more widespread than is in

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dictated by the party's membership of 1,000 and its 60,000 hard-core non-member supporters.

If Harris' figures are to be accepted, 25% of his sample—a percentage amounting to more than 5,000,000 black Americans—categorically stated that "The Black Panthers represent my own personal views." Harris reported that among blacks under 21, the percentage was 13%—more than two out of every five black youths. And, he found, 61% of all blacks agreed that the "Panthers give me a sense of pride."

Harris found that on a national basis, 9% of all blacks—more than 2,000,000—count themselves as "revolutionaries" and believe that only a readiness by Negroes to use violence will ever get them real equality. He further found that regardless of their own convictions about violence, the number of black Americans who believe that Negroes will probably have to resort to violence to win their rights had risen from 21% in 1966 to 31% today—about one black American out of every three. More disturbing, he reported that among black teenagers, 40%—two of every five—thought that violence would be necessary for Negroes to win their rights. The survey further showed that while a far greater number of those polled—59%—advocated violence only as a last resort when all else had failed, only 25% of those polled were willing to say that violence should be avoided at all costs.

Harris also reported "profound cynicism" among black Americans about the American political system. He reported that 63% agreed that "the system is rotten and has to be changed completely for blacks to be free."

Sympathizers and Allies

The Black Panther Party enjoys the support of certain other groups on the Radical Left, some of whom tend to compete with each other in pro-Panther militancy. These include the Communist Party and its recently-formed new youth arm, the Young Workers Liberation League; the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and its youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance; the Workers World Party, a Marxist-Maoist splinter group, and its youth arm, Youth Against War and Fascism; the Patriot Party and Young Patriots, who are young radical Southern whites in such Northern cities as New York and Chicago; the Young Lords, a radical Puerto Rican youth group, also with units in New York and Chicago; and some elements of the now-fragmented Students for a Democratic Society, especially the so-called Revolutionary Youth Movement-II. The issue of support for the Panthers—and the question of the degree of support—was one factor in the breakup of SDS into three major factions during the summer of 1969.

entire Far Left movement in the United States and the spearhead of a coming American revolution.

Periodicals of established Radical Left groups such as the Communist *Daily World* and *People's World* and the Trotskyist *Militant*, have devoted substantial and mostly sympathetic coverage and help to mobilize their own followers in support of the Panthers. Further coverage and support comes from the so-called "underground newspapers"—scores of weeklies published in cities across the country that cater to youthful radical "hippie" elements, and others who often participate in radical leftist protest demonstrations. The circulation of the "underground press" has been estimated to run as high as 2,000,000 and it is serviced by several "underground" news services.

Other sources of Panther support are leftist newspapers and magazines unaffiliated with any specific groups. These include such weeklies as *The Guardian* published in New York; *The Movement*, a New Left oriented paper published in San Francisco; and left oriented magazines such as *Ramparts* and *Evergreen*.

The Panthers have enjoyed sympathy and support from some elements in the white community who appear to be unaware of, or unconcerned by, the party's revolutionary and violence-prone posture and who instead think of the BPP as merely an ultra-militant Negro "civil rights" organization. These include, for example, some clergymen who have made their churches available for Panther meetings and community activities, such as the party's free breakfast program for ghetto children; individuals prominent in the arts and entertainment world who have contributed money or raised it from their friends for Panther bail and defense fund; segments of the college and university community; writers, journalists and intellectuals who have published articles sympathetic to the Panthers.

A barometer of the growth of Panther impact in the last few years is the substantial increase in the circulation of *The Black Panther*. Circulated almost exclusively in the San Francisco Bay area in mid-1967, it is now sold nationally—mostly on the streets by Panther members and other vendors, being hawked at 25¢ a copy and has achieved a circulation of 100,000, about half of which is still said to be concentrated in the Bay area.

Another yardstick of the increased Panther impact in the last two or three years is the number of speaking engagements filled by party spokesmen. During 1969, Panthers made 189 appearances at secondary schools, colleges and universities alone—compared to 11 appearances in 1967, the party's first full year of operation.

the Panthers have shifted tactics several times in the last year or so.

During the latter half of 1969, the party began to reach out for allies and supporters in the Radical Left movement and to try to moderate its image as an organization of gun-carrying guerrilla warriors. In many locations, the black berets and black leather jackets that have become the Panther uniform were no longer worn. Rifles and shotguns were rarely carried on the streets as had been the case earlier where, as in California, the carrying of such weapons on the streets was legal.

In the same period, heavy emphasis was placed on community programs designed to "serve the needs of the people"—the best known of these being the Panthers' free breakfast programs for ghetto children, actually combination breakfast-and-indoctrination sessions. The BPP also sought to develop free medical service programs in some cities, and in the summer of 1969, launched so-called "Liberation Schools" to indoctrinate youngsters after school or during summer vacation. In some areas clothing drives were conducted and the proceeds distributed to ghetto residents. In other areas, the party conducted campaigns against the use of narcotics by black youngsters.

Another significant tactical move, also apparently deriving from a conviction that the party was in an essentially defensive position during the middle of 1969, was the BPP sponsorship of a so-called "United Front Against Fascism" conference held July 18-21, 1969, in Oakland. The conference was preceded by a number of articles in *The Black Panther* branding the United States as "fascist" and by several excerpts from speeches made during the 1930s by Comintern leader Georgi Dimitrov calling for the formation of united fronts between Communist parties, other left-wing groups, and liberal forces against the Nazism and fascism of that period.

The U.F.A.F. conference was an apparent move to solidify Panther relationships with sympathetic groups on the Radical Left and to rally these diverse and often feuding forces around a Panther program that emphasized the freeing of so-called "political prisoners" and the establishing of local community control by ghetto residents over local police forces. At the conference, the Panthers called for "political freedom for all proletarian type organizations" and the development of a "national force" into a "front which answers the basic desires and needs of all people in fascist, capitalistic, racist America."

liberation groups, the Communist party and a
of white left groups."

Among the major speakers were Panther party man Bobby Seale; Communist Party theoretician Bert Aptheker; several SDS leaders; Dr. Nathan director of the Black Studies Department at San Francisco State College; and a number of radical activists and ideologues.

As part of the Panther program aimed at local community control of police forces—the symbol of “law to BPP” members and supporters—the party instilled conference participants to circulate petitions demanding such control and announced plans to form some 50 United Front Against Fascism Committees to aid the distribution.

In the wake of the conference, the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, the Marxist Progressive Labor Party and some New Left elements charged that the Panthers entered into an alliance with the Communist Party and that CP influence at the conference was obvious. These elements view the CP as "revisionist," "rightist," and "counter-revolutionary," and branded the conference and the alleged Panther-CP alliance as a backward step in the revolutionary struggle in America.

The Panthers have neither confirmed nor denied alliance with the Communist Party. In an interview with *The Guardian*, published August 16, 1969, PA Chief of Staff David Hilliard was quoted as stating:

"We are not aligned with the CP. The CP is an autocracy controlled by Gus Hall. We are aligned with factions within the CP who want to move toward a better society."

Early in 1970, however, the Panthers appeared placing less emphasis on the need for a "united front" with other Radical Left elements, and less emphasis on the free breakfast program—although it was that such programs were still being operated by Panther units in various parts of the country.

Instead, during the early months of 1970, *The Black Panther* began to re-emphasize guns, weapons, and revolutionary slogans against "fascist repression" which it saw as pervading the nation. Pictures of M-16 automatic rifles again began to appear throughout the paper; they had consistently appeared until about a year earlier. During March and April, 1970, the paper ran a series of articles by Field Marshal Cox on "Organizing Defense Groups," featuring pictures of a wide variety of revolvers, pistols, rifles, shotguns and other weapons and presenting detailed instructions on care and firing. An article in the April 18, 1970 issue presented detailed instructions on the home manufacture of Molotov cocktails and a so-called "People's Hand Grenade" that could be made from an empty aerosol can filled with gunpowder, and with shot or small nails to serve as shrapnel and ignited by a wick fuse.

During June, 1970, there were indications of yet another tactical shift by the Panthers. The party c

for a "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" to be held in Philadelphia on Labor Day, 1970, to write a new constitution, based on "a Proportional Representation within a socialist framework," that would give blacks and "other oppressed ethnic groups" as well as youth and old people the rights the Panthers said were being denied under the existing U.S. Constitution.

The call for the Philadelphia gathering was announced at a rally on the steps of Lincoln Memorial in Washington on June 19, 1970—the 107th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. It was given publicity in two June issues of *The Black Panther* that featured explanatory articles by Newton and Cleaver and a "Message to America."

The "Message" said that the time had come for black people in America to make "the most serious decisions" and that the hour had arrived to implement the section of the BPP Program calling for determination of the national destiny of black people through a U.N.-supervised plebiscite. The statement said:

"If we are to remain part of the United States, then we must have a new Constitution that will strictly guarantee our Human Rights to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, which is promised but not delivered by the present Constitution . . . If this is not to be, if we cannot make a new arrangement within the United States, then we have no alternative but to declare ourselves free and independent of the United States. If it is our national destiny to follow the latter course, then we must declare ourselves into self-governing machinery and seek the recognition of the freedom-loving nations of the world."

The "Message" closed with a "Warning to America" that said:

"We are from 25 to 30 million strong, and we are armed . . . If the American people, as a whole, do not rise up, reverse the present course of this nation, which, if unchecked, holds out only fascist repression and genocide for Black people, then we, the Black people, will be forced to respond with a form of War of Salvation that in the chaos of carrying it out and the attempt to repress it, will gut this country and utterly destroy it. Before we accept Genocide, we will inflict Total Destruction upon Babylon."

"It had best be understood, now, that the power we rely upon ultimately . . . is our strategic ability to lay this country in ruins from the bottom to the top. If forced to resort to this guarantee, we will not hesitate to do so. FOR THE SALVATION, LIBERATION AND FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE, WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO EITHER KILL OR DIE! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE."

In his explanatory article that appeared a few days earlier in the June 13, 1970 issue of *The Black Panther*, Newton wrote that "Blacks are perfectly justified in declaring a Republic or a Liberated Territory . . ." Cleaver, writing in the same issue, underscored the fact that the plebiscite aspect of the BPP Platform was a

revolutionary and violent thrust. One apparent result, however, is that different Panther chapters reflect the varying emphases of different periods, some stressing such less violent activities as the breakfast program, others the emphasis on arms and weapons.

Despite these surface variations in the tactics and activities of local units, there is little doubt that the BPP functions under strict discipline. The *Rules of the Black Panther Party*, issued by national headquarters and published every week in the party paper, lay down strict regulations for individual conduct, require daily reports by every member and officer, attendance at regular political indoctrination classes, and political work in the community. Rule 25, moreover, categorically states:

"All chapters must adhere to the policy and ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY."

Finances

Testimony in June, 1969, by two former Panther party officials before the Senate Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigations indicated that late in 1968 and early in 1969 the BPP was receiving gross monthly revenues of between \$50,000 and \$100,000. More recent estimates place the Panther income at between \$40,000 and \$60,000 a month—somewhere between \$450,000 and \$750,000 a year.

The Panthers draw on a variety of financial sources. Special defense funds for arrested and imprisoned Panther leaders, such as BPP founder Huey Newton, appear to have been a lucrative source of funds for the party. (Newton was charged with murder in the death of an Oakland policeman during a gunfight between police and Panthers in October, 1967. In September, 1968, he was convicted by a jury of voluntary manslaughter and was sentenced to prison for two to 15 years. The case was appealed and in May, 1970, the California Court of Appeal reversed the conviction, one of the grounds being that the trial judge had omitted certain necessary instructions to the jury.)

While Newton awaited trial in late 1967 and early 1968, the BPP had set up the Huey Newton Defense Fund, which appealed for contributions from radical groups and individuals all over the world. "Free Huey" became a Radical Left slogan and numerous rallies and fund-raising affairs were held throughout the United States. How much money was collected is not known.

The Panthers also derive some revenues from the sale of *The Black Panther*, and of books, pamphlets and literature, posters, buttons and recordings, as well as from lecture fees and honorariums for public speaking engagements. In his recent book, *Seize the Time*, party chairman Seale indicated that lecture fees ranged

The Senate investigators in June, 1969, heard testimony that the Panthers have received "large donations from members of the advisory committee, a part of the Black Panther Party." The witness, who had worked in Panther national headquarters, then at Berkeley, testified that the advisory committee "consists of many people who are in positions where they are well known either locally or nationally, or internationally; and they become members because they are sympathetic to the cause. Some well-known figures are actors and actresses, doctors, and political figures."

Testimony before the Senate sub-committee and reports from authoritative sources also indicate that during a 1968 election alliance between the BPP and the California Peace and Freedom Party, the BPP received substantial monetary support from the PFP. (In that campaign, Eldridge Cleaver was the PFP candidate for President of the United States, even though too young to meet the Constitutional requirements for that office. Huey Newton was a PFP candidate for the U.S. Congress, Mrs. Kathleen Cleaver for a seat in the California State Senate, and party leader Bobby Seale for the State Assembly.)

The emphasis by the Panthers on free hot breakfast programs for ghetto children, free medical services, and other community projects led to speculation about how these programs were being financed.

The best information indicates that local merchants doing business in black neighborhoods have been solicited—sometimes pressured—by the Panthers for contributions of cash, goods, or both. Some stores that balked have been the targets of Panther boycott efforts. Testimony before the Senate sub-committee, for example, showed that a leaflet bearing the name of the BPP had been circulated in Oakland, Calif., during June, 1969, urging boycott of Safeway Stores, a major supermarket chain that was charged with refusing to donate. An article in the *Philadelphia Bulletin* of July 13, 1969, reported that the Panthers were distributing lists of companies that had refused to contribute milk, food or money for the breakfast program there.

According to the *Wall Street Journal* of August 29, 1969, Daitch-Crystal Dairies, Inc., which operates Daitch Shopwell supermarkets, a large chain in the New York area, was contributing to the Panther program, as was Dairylea Milk Products, Inc., a firm that does \$300,000,000 worth of business a year and that distributes throughout the Northeast. The president of Dairylea was quoted as saying:

"They didn't threaten, but they asked in such a way that we knew we might be opening the door to bad publicity if we didn't give. We run a lot of routes all over this area, and we don't want to make any enemies."

In Peekskill, N.Y., former location of one of several Panther offices in New York State, local merchants received two separate messages for donations to Panther

programs. The first, circulated in the spring of 1969, announced the launching of a local BPP breakfast program and stated:

"... the equivalent [sic] of 2¢ worth of food per person taken in, of the people's choice, would be collected from the merchants... In this manner, a part of the money is taken out of the community and spent elsewhere, and put to good use in the community."

The letter concluded:

"In this way, the Panthers intend not only to meet most basic needs and desires of the Black community, but also to erase the negative impression that has been drawn on the party by the racist-owned and oriented news media."

A few months later, in September, the tone of the Peekskill Panthers became harsher as they announced a "Free Clothing for Children Program." The statement stated:

"We are demanding that all merchants who rob and exploit our community return some of the profits that take from our community by donating clothing and supplies..."

"The oppressed communities welcome your cooperation. We would like to set up an appointment with you to discuss the details of your donation."

An article sent in by the Kansas City branch of the BPP and published in *The Black Panther* of May 1969, reported, in part:

"The Black Panther Party has... hounded the avaricious businessmen infesting the Black Community, who rob, and [obscure] Black People. Some of them have agreed with donations but other five-time corner grocery stores charging year-age prices for stone-age quality have refused to cooperate. Therefore, we call on the name of oppressed people to kill this worm of economic exploitation."

"The large businesses in the city such as Sealtest Dairies, Foremost Dairies, and Country Club Dairies have had the audacity to say that the price of milk is too high for us to donate milk. [Obscenity]. Who sets the prices? Kroger chain store refused to donate food or otherwise cooperate with the people's revolutionary program because they claimed they already donate to Soul, Inc., a black organization which is doing their thing to take care of the people's needs. But this is still a cop-out. The Party will also deal with this antagonistic contradiction..."

"This revolutionary program will be a good way to the oppressed masses... that they are the strength of the revolution..."

Summary

Despite arrests and other troubles with law enforcement agencies, the purging of its own ranks by its leaders, the decimation of its leadership cadre, and the levelling-off of its membership at roughly one-third of its peak strength, the Black Panther Party nevertheless scored significant successes since it was founded from scratch in 1966.

The party has become a national organization with units from coast to coast. It has won sympathetic support from an apparently growing minority of

ira's more than 20,000,000 black people, especially among ghetto youth. The Panthers have achieved a "vanguard" image and significant prestige in the country's troublesome and increasingly violence-prone Far Left movement, as well as among radical leftists overseas.

The party also enjoys a degree of sympathy, if not of support, among some presumably responsible Americans who, despite the commitment of the Panthers to armed struggle and violent revolution, apparently view the party as a benign movement.

More important, perhaps, the Panthers have aroused deep concern among prominent and responsible liberal organizations and individuals because of a widely-held belief in such circles that the party has been a target of undue harassment by law enforcement authorities and that at least in some instances—Chicago, for example—the civil rights and civil liberties of the Panthers have been violated.

The future of the Panthers as a viable organization on the left extremist front remains to be seen. The findings of the Louis Harris poll of black Americans for TIME Magazine suggest that the Panther party—or one like it—has a dangerously high support potential because a minority of black Americans, numbered in the millions, accepts the necessity of violence by blacks and expresses approval of, or even pride in, the Panther movement.

Considered by themselves alone, the Panthers—at the moment—do not appear strong enough to pose an imminent threat to the American Republic, whatever havoc they may wreak on the American scene in the immediate future. But as part of a larger leftist revolutionary movement in the United States, the Panthers and their allies become a major problem to those Americans who believe in the democratic process.

The Panthers are, perhaps, one of the most important elements in the Radical Left movement that has emerged in recent years and that is mounting an increasingly violent assault against democratic institutions and processes. Today's Radical Left is waging a kind of guerrilla warfare against our society, against such basic American institutions as the colleges and universities, the public schools and the courts. Violence on the Far Left can in no way whatsoever be viewed as a legitimate expression of the right of protest or dissent, the right of peaceable assembly, or the right of freedom of speech. It also cannot—and must not—be used as a reason for violating the fundamental Constitutional safeguards that protect all citizens, including Black Panthers.

Whatever dangers the future may hold, the danger posed by the often violence-prone revolutionary left in the United States currently equals in scope and intensity—if it does not already exceed—the danger of violence currently posed by Radical Rightist groups such as the Minutemen and by hate groups such as the Ku

Panthers and other elements on the Radical Left may eventually serve to build the strength of Far Right action.

The Panthers, moreover, have overseas ties and alliances inimical to the United States. Support radiates toward Panther headquarters in California from Peking, Hanoi, Havana, Algiers, Pyongyang, and from Al Fatah headquarters in the Middle East. Radical Left movements in Western Europe, Canada and Latin America likewise lend their voices in support. Such worldwide support, along with the widespread publicity and notoriety the BPP has achieved in the domestic mass media, seem to give the Panthers an impact far out of proportion to their relatively small membership.

As a result, the activities of the Panthers have contributed substantially to the racial and political polarization that has taken place on the American scene in recent years, helping to feed the "backlash" and the reactionary mood of repression that has shown signs of growing around the country.

Like so many Radical Right and Radical Left movements that have appeared through the decades in the Western World, the Panthers have included anti-Semitism in their propaganda arsenal. They have salted the manifestos with the time-worn canards and stereotypes used by anti-Semites for years. They have made common cause with the Arab forces in the Middle East that are waging a war of destruction against Israel.

In their all-out support for Al Fatah, the Panthers have attacked Israel with the rhetoric of Arab and anti-Semite alike, and when they have come under criticism for doing so, they have fallen back on the ancient wheeze of the anti-Semites who denounce Zionists because they hate Jews—the spurious claim that they are only anti-Zionist and anti-Israel, not anti-Semitic or anti-Jewish.

The Panthers are, finally, in major measure symptom of the malignancy that infects America—its unsolved racial problem. Unless and until American society, in a new consensus, moves massively to confront the challenge of this problem and to resolve it, the nation will continue to be plagued by extremist organizations taking their cue from our failures, some of them committed to violence and revolution, others to violence and repression.

The threat to democratic institutions posed by the armed and revolutionary movements of the Far Left is a cause for concern that the overwhelming majority of Jews share with their fellow-citizens. The anti-Zionist, anti-Israel, pro-Arab and often overtly anti-Jewish propaganda and activities of the Black Panthers and some of their extremist allies, however, pose a special and direct concern to Jews in the United States—a concern undoubtedly shared by the overwhelming majority of non-Jewish Americans, both black and white. The need for continuing this deep concern seems unlikely.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT -
MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/30/70

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBulet to New Haven 9/8/70, which authorized reproduction of proposed counterintelligence leaflet entitled "Let's Compare the Ten-Point Program of the Black Panther Party With 'Like It Is'."

Enclosed herewith for each office receiving this communication are three copies of above leaflet, which is to be reproduced in sufficient quantities for distribution to individuals in your areas upon whom it should have an enlightening effect. Distribution is to be made only by anonymous mailings which cannot be traced to the Bureau.

You are further instructed to advise the Bureau of any tangible results received as a result of these mailings.

ma
ENCLOSURE

- (2) Bureau (Encl.-1)
- 2-Baltimore (Encl.-3)
- 2-Boston (Encl.-3)
- 2-Charlotte (Encl.-3)
- 2-Chicago (Encl.-3)
- 2-Cleveland (Encl.-3)
- 2-Denver (Encl.-3)
- 2-Detroit (Encl.-3)
- 2-Indianapolis (Encl.-3)
- 2-Los Angeles (Encl.-3)
- 2-Milwaukee (Encl.-3)
- 2-Newark (Encl.-3)
- 2-New York (Encl.-3)
- 2-Omaha (Encl.-3)
- 2-Philadelphia (Encl.-3)
- 2-Portland (Encl.-3)
- 2-San Francisco (Encl.-3)
- 2-Seattle (Encl.-3)
- 2-Washington Field (Encl.-3)
- 2-New Haven

IMG/arf

(40)

REGISTERED MAIL

REC-15

OCT 2 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED RACIAL INT. SECT.
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

NOV 1 1970

191

LET'S COMPARE THE TEN-POINT PROGRAM OF THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY WITH "LIKE IT IS"

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1. We want Freedom.

2. We want power to determine the
destiny of our Black Community.

3. We want full employment of
our people.

We want an end to the robbery by
the capitalist of our Black
Community.

4. We want decent housing, fit for
shelter of human beings.

"LIKE IT IS"

1. Ask any member how long he or
she can be out of contact with
the Party without being disci-
plined. "No freedom in the Party.
Ask [REDACTED]
about freedom."

2. The destiny of the Black
community is to be ruled by the
Party. Have you ever told a
Black Panther "no" when they
asked something of you?

3. The words "our people" is the
catcher. This really means
the people of the BPP.
Have you ever been helped by
a BPP member to get a job?
No! Ask any member the last time
he tried to get a job for himself.
THE ANSWER WILL BE, "I GOT ONE,"
"I WORK FOR THE MOVEMENT."

Webster's New World Dictionary
states that a capitalist is one
who has capital. With that
definition, the BPP is a
capitalist organization, for
the gross income of that
organization would far exceed your
wildest dreams. Where does this
money come from? You and me.
Ever get any money from the Party?
Who is robbing who?

4. The finance of the BPP is out
of sight, yet dig the pads that
are set up as headquarters. You
will say that it is the best they
can do, or it is symbolic. Good,
check the labels in the clothes
of the leaders and then go price
that "front" in the clothing
store. Have you ever asked a
Panther to aid in getting a pad,
and all you get is double talk
but no help?

100-111111-1976
ENCLOSURE

192

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society.

We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.

7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people.

5. That old Uncle Tom talk, "I ain't got no good means of obtaining an education." The party or no one else can say that a good education is only for whites. Ask to go to any school, and you can go. This is a great talking point for persons who have not gone to school any longer than was necessary.

I say to this part of Point 5, Right-on, but I can't say Right-on to the Party that takes kids that can't think for themselves on any subject, but play and drill into them to kill. Don't take my word for it, drop by some times and lend an ear. You be the judge.

6. Let's call a club a club and believe it, a club will be used by all countries, at odds with the U. S. on any person in the U. S. Man, because you are Black, don't exempt you if we lose!

7. Again, we have a standard cry of most persons who are known to break the law, and violently object to being apprehended and punished for same. In today's work-a-day world the word brutality has had its fair share of abuse. Any time one is arrested and carried in for questioning the standard vanguard cry is "police brutality." Is it really brutality? Or just a means of drawing attention? Then put Black in front of it, and everyone gets up in arms.

8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

8. As has often been stated by those in authority or rule of Black Panther Party, we are in existence only to serve the people. Now I ask you does this statement release all Black men from prisons sound as though they are looking out for the best interests of the community? As in any judicial system certain people that may be innocent, white or black, may be sentenced unjustly, but the statement, "free all" is a little irrational

9. On this point I have but one question as is the question in the minds of many in the community when the Panthers state that all Blacks brought to trial should be tried by their peers. Are they referring to the type of trial that was held for their former brother members and [REDACTED] The point of one being tried by his peers is just and a good law, but a kangaroo court by anybody is a kangaroo court. If [REDACTED] were here, I'm sure they could tell you "like it is."

10. Every item that is mentioned in point ten can be obtained by any individual that has the gumption to obtain same. The poetic statement used in point ten which implies black separatism closely parallels that of another archaic group better known as the KKK. Black Panthers, Kluxers and any other group that feels that the races can live alone should only look at any country in the world and try to pick one that you find only one kind of individual or race. Impossible, isn't it?

To the Panthers and any other group tell it like it is and not like it ain't!

194

FBI

Date: 9/24/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

| | |
|--------------|--|
| Mr. Tolson | |
| Mr. DeLoach | |
| Mr. Mohr | |
| Mr. Bishop | |
| Mr. Casper | |
| Mr. Callahan | |
| Mr. Conrad | |
| Mr. Felt | |
| Mr. Gale | |
| Mr. Rosen | |
| Mr. Tavel | |
| Mr. Walters | |
| Mr. Soyars | |
| Mr. Room | |
| Mr. Holmes | |
| Miss Gandy | |

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (Bufile 100-448006)
 (WFOfile 157-1292) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 RM - BPP
 (Bufile 105-165705)
 (WFOfile 100-45995) (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE.

Enclosed for the Bureau are three Xerox copies of a
 flyer which appeared this date on the Howard University campus.

The flyer was furnished by [REDACTED]

For the information of the Bureau, Project Awareness
 is a Howard University recognized student group which invites
 controversial persons of national note to air their views before
 a student audience.

WFO is considering the following actions to exploit
 the circumstances of NEWTON's refusal to appear at Howard
 University:

- (3) - Bureau (Enc.3)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enc.2)(RM)(AM)
- 2 - WFO

REC 27

ST-113

OCT 2 1970

MGD:tdl
 (7)

AIRTEL

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

REC. UNIT, RM

195

WFO 157-1292

1. Duplicating and sending to area high schools, college Black Student Unions and Associations of Black Students copies of the attached flyer.
2. Writing a letter to the Editor of the Howard University student newspaper "The Hilltop", castigating the black Panther Party, NEWTON and pointing out the "capitalistic" nature of this "socialist" organization.
3. Writing a letter to the editor of local D.C. newspapers with the same intent as set out above.

WFO will take no action on the above proposals unless approved by the Bureau.

Important!!!

Important!!!

Important!!!

Important!!!

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

It is with deep regret that I write this letter to you. This Friday, Sept. 25th, Huey P. Newton, Member of Defense for the Black Panther Party was supposed to speak. When the committee contacted Dr. Newton's office in Oakland, the date of the 25th was set and an honorarium of \$1,000 was agreed upon. This was approximately 2 weeks after his release from prison. However, upon contacting the National Headquarters last week, the secretary stated that Huey wanted \$1,500 instead of \$1,000. When questioned about the \$500 increase, the secretary stated that Huey felt Howard could afford to pay it. There was no regard for verbal agreement whatsoever. Therefore, Huey P. Newton will not be at Howard on the 25th of this month or any other month as long as he desires such an exorbitant sum of money. We as Black Students must take the position that our leaders have a commitment to us. They must realize that Black Colleges and Universities do not have the funds that large state supported white schools have. We should also feel that any Black leader who would put such pressure on fellow brothers and sisters, needs to be critically re-evaluated if he is to be called one of our leaders. We must also remember that the only thing we have is ourselves.

Love and Power to all Brothers & Sisters

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Airtel

October 1, 1970

To: SAC, WFO (157-1292) REC 27
From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM ST-113
BLACK NATION/IST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

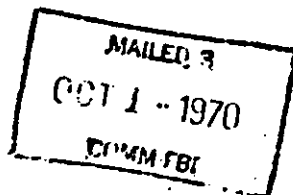
Re WFO airtel 9/24/70.

Bureau authorizes WFO to duplicate and send to area high schools, college Black Student Unions and Associations of Black Students, copies of the flyer that was enclosed with referenced airtel. Care is to be taken that the FBI cannot be determined the source of this leaflet.

Prior to authorizing WFO to carry out other proposals, WFO is to submit letters that are to be sent editors of student newspapers and editors of local D. C. newspapers.

WFO:sal/clb
(6)

NOTE: WFO source furnished flyer showing that arrangements by Project Awareness to have Huey Newton speak at Howard University had not been finalized as Newton wanted more money. This flyer put out by the head of Project Awareness was critical of Newton. Project Awareness is a recognized student group at Howard University which invites controversial persons to speak.



97 OCT 9 1970

TELETYPE UNIT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

10/1/70

Airtel

1 - Mr. E.R. Stark

To: SAC, San Francisco

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Reurtel 9/24/70 entitled "Huey P. Newton, RM - BPP."

Retel relates in part to the BPP newspaper article by Newton in which he replied to criticism by Roy Wilkins concerning BPP priority of recruiting black Americans to fight with the National Liberation Front in Vietnam rather than helping black Americans who are suffering in the U.S. Newton claimed charges by Wilkins merely reveals Wilkins' own self-interests in preserving his identification with the ruling circle and that Wilkins has spent money for advertising purposes which could have been put to good use by the black people Wilkins accuses Newton of ignoring.

Bureau is of opinion conflict of interests exhibited by Wilkins and Newton represent potential for counterintelligence action which could degrade Newton as a leader in eyes of black community. His self-interest charge against Wilkins could for example be exploited in some manner by showing that Newton has his own self-interests which are not aimed at improving conditions of the Negro race.

Carefully review comments of Wilkins and Newton appearing in 9/26/70 issue of "The Black Panther" and submit recommendations which could conceivably be detrimental to Newton and/or the Black Panther Party.

1 - 105-165429 (Newton)

ERS:drl (5)

NOTE:

Newton is Supreme Commander and spokesman for the BPP.

We should whenever possible consider counterintelligence action against this individual.

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

REC-12

OCT 5 1970

9200 1970

RECORDED COPY FILED

199

FBI

Date: 9/30/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, NEWARK (100-49654)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Reference is made to various communications of the Newark Office describing the fortification of 93 Summit Ave., Jersey City, N. J., the site of Black Panther Party (BPP) headquarters in that city.

[REDACTED] has advised that BPP headquarters at 93 Summit Ave., is a potential powder keg and that there is always the probability that there will be a showdown between the BPP and the FD. It is his belief that if this occurs, some police officers are going to be hurt, possibly killed.

[REDACTED] has advised that the panthers continually "bait" the police by such tactics as setting up loudspeakers outside their building and blaring loud raucous music, therefore, causing complaints from the neighborhood. This results in getting police officers to the scene to get the music lowered, at which time usually eight to ten panthers gather on the steps, some with cameras, and make a show of photographing the police officers.

[REDACTED] advised on 8/7/70, that the Jersey City BPP is deliberately trying to provoke the police into action. The BPP plans to keep on harassing the police until they react, which they hope will bring on a confrontation between the BPP and the police.

3-Bureau (RM) (2-ENCLOSURE)
11-105-105706 Sub 31)
4-Newark
11-100-49194)
1-S-2 Desk)
GEJ/las
(7)

EX-111 10 OCT 2 1970
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

This [redacted] on 8/21/70, that according to talk at 93 Summit Ave., with the passage of the "no knock law" they can expect the PD to step up their "repression" of the BPP. It was stated that if any law enforcement officer or group attempts to invade the premises, they will be killed on the spot and if necessary, the BPP will bring Jersey City "to the ground."

[redacted] advised on 9/1/70, that the BPP headquarters at 93 Summit Ave., resembles a fortress. Sandbags are piled against the walls to a height of five feet. Sand is kept in buckets placed at strategic points along with large water jugs. Extra food is also stored at this building.

The fortification of 93 Summit Ave., is generally known in the Jersey City area and was the subject of a article in the "Hudson Dispatch", 7/8/70 issue, in an article entitled, "Find Panther Fortress". Two photographs of this article are enclosed for the Bureau.

As is apparent from the foregoing, both a precarious and a hazardous situation exists at 93 Summit Avenue.

The [redacted] advised that [redacted] was contacted, and [redacted] stated that the Panthers took over this property, and they never have paid rent. In fact, [redacted] took court action to remove the Panthers from the premises. [redacted] was reportedly told by the court that eviction proceeding could not be sustained because the Panthers were never, in fact, tenants of this property because they never paid rent. According to [redacted] [redacted] is extremely reluctant to lodge a complaint for trespass against the Panthers because [redacted] is in fear of reprisals.

[redacted] stated that a letter was sent to [redacted] on 6/26/70, by [redacted]. The letter noted that fire hazards exist at 93 Summit Ave., and cited the fact that sandbags block access through the windows. It was also pointed out that the Fire Department has never been able to gain entrance to this premises for the purpose of inspection. The latter noted that if [redacted] failed to reply to this letter, legal proceedings would be instituted. [redacted] noted that no further action has been taken by the Fire Department in this matter.

ME 100-42654

It is apparent that the above situation is a local matter which should be handled by local authorities. By way of conjecture, it is considered that the situation at 93 Summit Ave., has been allowed to continue because of envy or because of some local political situation the reasons for which are not readily apparent.

Regardless of the reason, this is a very dangerous situation, which should not be allowed to exist. It is recommended that Bureau authority be granted to contact [REDACTED] to apprise him of the situation and to furnish him a copy of the newspaper article which is enclosed herewith.

The purpose of this suggestion is readily apparent. As [REDACTED] he is ultimately responsible for the good and welfare of the citizens of this state.

... on their way to work
... and left an address
... apparently
... occupants of the
... when they told the
... B.B. & Panther Halls and per-
... of certain Communist

Isaiah Bowley, Jersey City "captain" of the Black Panther Party, now on trial in the machine-gunning of a policeman was employed by PAI before the organization's funds

And these meetings are truly "revolutionary," for which a "grievance committee" was formed on May 3 to provide "defense funds" for the three

Also "dancing" to the tunes of the funk music played by the Panthers at that time was Julian Robinson, dean of students at Jersey City State College, and Robert Washington, president of the Black Freedom Society at JCS.

When the Black Panther

Persons desiring to be baptized should contact the pastor of the church to which they wish to be baptized. The churches are: First Baptist Church, 1000 N. 1st St.; First Methodist Church, 1000 N. 1st St.; First Presbyterian Church, 1000 N. 1st St.; First United Methodist Church, 1000 N. 1st St.; First Baptist Church, 1000 N. 1st St.; First Methodist Church, 1000 N. 1st St.; First Presbyterian Church, 1000 N. 1st St.; First United Methodist Church, 1000 N. 1st St.

And it is interesting to note that almost constant visitors (Turn to Page 70, Column 6)

Find Panthers' Fortress

For following Communist teachings, as pointed out by this writer many months ago. The latest brochure issued by the Black Panthers declares: "From the struggling historical experiences of the Black People for 400 years, the Black Panther Party knows that our people have to be mobilized to destroy this system and to institute a new system that will serve the People."

And the house on Summit
av., guarded and perhaps well
armed, declares this to all the
world.



"ARMED FORTRESS" IN JERSEY CITY — A three-story brownstone at 93 Summit av., Jersey City, occupied by the Black Panther Party, shows signs of being "ready for action." The building, behind Margaret Hague Maternity Hospital, has sandbags with "gun emplacement slots" erected in all of its windows. The Panthers, who apparently went "underground" and ostensibly moved to Newark in February, have been active on the local scene.

October 5, 1970

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - Field Guidance
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, New York (100-49654)

EX-111 REC-88

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — /

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurairtel 9/30/70.

Suggestion in reairtel reviewed and does not appear to be counterintelligence. As you point out in reairtel, the matter is a local matter; local police officials are both aware of the situation and anxious to remedy it. However, in the absence of a complaint by the owner, the local police are apparently powerless to act and Governor Cahill would be in the same position. To go over the heads of the local and state police in this matter appears to be inappropriate and it would appear that such action would not be appreciated by the police. If state assistance is needed, the local police should be the people to request it.

Your recognition of this situation as a possible target for counterintelligence is commendable and it is suggested that you carefully consider further what counterintelligence measures could be taken to assist the police in this matter. Submit your suggestions to the Bureau for consideration.

CEG:eky

(6)

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/10/00 BY 60322
OTHER

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

53 OCT 19 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MC
CY
204

Airtel to SAC, Newark
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
100-448006

NOTE: The Black Panther Party headquarters in Jersey City, New Jersey, is a veritable fortress and the police recognize it as a "power keg" where police are continually baited by the Panthers who hope for a confrontation. The police have contacted the renter of the building and found that the Panthers have paid no rent. Court action has failed against them and the renter is afraid to take eviction action for fear of reprisals. The owner has been advised by the fire department that the fortifications in the house constitute a fire hazard and legal proceedings are possible. Newark recommended that it be authorized to contact Governor Cahill, New Jersey, and apprise ^{him} of the situation since he is ultimately responsible for the good and welfare of the citizens of the state. Governor Cahill is a former Special Agent, on the Special Correspondents list, and we have good relations with him. This is not counterintelligence, would put Governor Cahill on the spot, and would probably alienate the Jersey City police.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448098)
(100-448098)

FROM : SAC, PORTLAND (157-347) (P)
(100-11048) (2)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Bufile 100-448098
PDEfile 157-347

DATE: 10/2/70

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
SECURITY MATTER
Bufile 100-448098
PDEfile 100-11048

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OTHERWISE.

BACKGROUND

Within every field division situations arise that lend themselves to a counterintelligence program providing the situation is afforded some publicity and is brought to the attention of the public.

As an example, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was [REDACTED] to use [REDACTED] which had fallen into [REDACTED], mainly because [REDACTED] had done nothing to maintain the property over the years. The funds utilized rose from Federal grants funding the Model Cities Program. As far as known this was the [REDACTED]

PROPOSED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

It is proposed that each office secure a mailbox under an assumed name without assistance from postal authorities in order to maintain the maximum security coverage. The box should be located in a post office that provides 24 hour access

- 4 - Bureau (AM) (RM)
(2 - 100-448098 COINTELPRO BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS)
(2 - 100-448098 COINTELPRO NEW LEFT)
4 - Portland
(2 - 157-347 COINTELPRO BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
(2 - 100-11048 COINTELPRO NEW LEFT)

JWA: [REDACTED]
(2) [REDACTED]

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

206

PD 157-327
PD 100-11043

so that the box could be cleared of incoming mail at a time of least traffic or at a time when a surveillance of the box could be detected. Knowledge of this program should be restricted in each office to a need-to-know basis.

After the box is obtained several Bureau approved letters are directed to the Letter to the Editor Column of leading metropolitan newspapers. The letters would be sent about a week apart dealing with timely local topics in order to establish the writer as a contributor to the Letters to the Editor section.

Thereafter, a Bureau approved letter would be sent exposing to the public view a particular situation such as the one outlined above with regard to [REDACTED]

EXPECTED RESULTS

Portland is not proposing that this measure be directed toward [REDACTED] at the present time as this situation is known to several individuals who are expected to direct public attention in that direction. However, there would be a wide spectrum of events that would lend itself to such counterintelligence approach. For example, school administrators of tax supported universities who do nothing to stem the tide of campus violence spawned from within the campus community; city administrators who "cave in" to the demands of street protestors for parade permits at a time and location to cause the most congestion and public inconvenience; public facilities that are made available for the use of organizations planning disruptive activity; and Mafia-like tactics of the Black Panther Party in obtaining cash contributions from merchants, ostensibly to carry out Black Panther Party community programs.

When a specially prepared letter appears in the press copies of the letter could then be mailed to people in the state legislature, school boards, members of congress, or to areas where corrective measures would have to have a beginning.

Letters appearing in the newspapers would stimulate persons of opposite viewpoint to write directly to the contributor which could serve to identify persons who support dissent.

FBI

Date: 9/29/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM

Re Los Angeles airtel suggesting a letter directed to DAVID HILLIARD indicating that the writer has been paid \$2,000 to assassinate HUEY P. NEWTON. San Francisco feels obligated to offer the following criticism of the suggestion. In the event HILLIARD makes known to NEWTON that he has received such a letter and that either HILLIARD or NEWTON take the matter seriously, the BPP will undoubtedly increase security around NEWTON and his bodyguards will undoubtedly become edgy and may shoot first if they expect any harassment of NEWTON. Agents of this office are often surveilling NEWTON and we could easily have confrontations on these surveillances. It is the opinion of the San Francisco Office that the mailing of such a letter ~~may~~ possibly contribute to the death of an Agent or another law enforcement officer.

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REC-21
EX-113

- ② - Bureau (RM)
1 - Los Angeles (157-4054) (RM)
2 - San Francisco
LSB/jb #9
(5)

17 OCT 1 1970

54 OCT 1 1970

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____

208

FBI

Date: 9/8/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM

Re Bureau teletype dated 8/28/70.

In reference to the suggestion set forth in Baltimore airtel dated 8/13/70 for the utilization of Negro male and female employees to place calls to BPP National Headquarters asking to talk with HUEY NEWTON, San Francisco would note that to date NEWTON has spent relatively little time at National Headquarters and as yet has not been accepting calls when there. People attempting to reach NEWTON telephonically unless they are among his close associates, are advised to leave a message and telephone number.

However, San Francisco is of the opinion the Baltimore suggestion has merit and it is suggested that Baltimore furnish a specific request to the Bureau outlining the details of the statements to be made by phone and the identity of the employee to be utilized. Baltimore

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New Haven (157-785) (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (157-2520) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (157-3214) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (157-4054) (RM)
- 1 - WFO (157-1292) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco

LB:mal
(8)

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REC-4E

EX-111

2002
SEP 10 1970

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

209

SF 157-601

IB:mal

might also plan to have the Negro employee prepared to discuss his supposed grievances with [REDACTED] rather than HUEY NEWTON.

Detroit by airtel dated 8/11/70 suggested exploiting the fact that NEWTON has had homosexual behavior in the past and that DAVID HILLIARD be accused of placing BPP funds in foreign bank accounts.

It is true that NEWTON was found unfit for military service because of a sexual maladjustment, but no specific information has been received concerning any homosexual activity on his part. Since his release he has apparently enjoyed female liaison both in Oakland, California, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

San Francisco by airtel dated 8/31/70 has pointed out that there was a possibility of opposition within the BPP because of HUEY NEWTON's liberal attitude toward homosexual organizations. San Francisco requested Bureau authority to mail two anonymous letters to DAVID HILLIARD concerning NEWTON's stand on homosexuality as set forth in "The Black Panther."

San Francisco is of the opinion that Detroit's suggestion concerning accusing DAVID HILLIARD of placing BPP funds in foreign bank accounts would have little effect because no information has been received indicating that HILLIARD is siphoning off any large amount of money.

San Francisco would interpose no objection to New Haven's suggestion of 8/12/70 concerning the printing of a flyer, "Panther Trial News," without reviewing the proposed

SF 157-601
LB:mal

text. However, inasmuch as the [REDACTED] trial has terminated, perhaps New Haven could submit a similar suggestion when other members of the BPP are brought to court in New Haven.

San Francisco is of the opinion Los Angeles has submitted a detailed original plan. However, San Francisco would caution against enclosing the US, Incorporated card in the [REDACTED]. If the first letter enclosing the card were construed by HILLIARD and/or NEWTON as a threat to NEWTON's life and the BPP took some action on it, the Bureau may be placed in the embarrassing position of aiding or initiating a murder.

WFO by airtel dated 8/13/70 suggested that a cooperative press, radio or television interviewer might be utilized to effectively drive a wedge between NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. San Francisco agrees the suggestion has merit, but for the moment NEWTON has not allowed a large number of interviews. His main interview in San Francisco has been over a Berkeley television station. The interview was taped previous to broadcast and the interview was conducted by a woman who shared the same apartment with NEWTON and another individual. San Francisco is of the opinion that for the present it would be very difficult to obtain a legitimate news source and "direct" him for the type of interview that would drive a wedge between CLEAVER and NEWTON. In the event WFO has such a source in the media field, it is suggested that they make a specific suggestion for arranging an interview by a nationally known commentator from Washington who would be able and willing to attempt to obtain the results set forth in WFO airtel.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. Atkinson
1 - Mr. Morrissey

9/16/70

Airtel

1
1
1
1

To: SACs, Baltimore (157-2520) New Haven (157-785)
Detroit (157-3214) San Francisco (157-601)
Los Angeles (157-4054) Washington Field (157-1292)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) *2002*

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel 8/27/70 and San Francisco airtel 9/8/70,
copies furnished all recipients.

Bureau concurs with observations of San Francisco concerning proposals submitted by Baltimore, New Haven, and Washington Field. In event these offices have specific proposals to make in line therewith, they should be separately submitted in detail requesting specific Bureau authority to implement them. ✓

Concerning the first proposal submitted by Detroit, counterintelligence action by San Francisco to capitalize on Huey P. Newton's favorable stand toward homosexuals has already been authorized by the Bureau. The second Detroit proposal to consider directing an anonymous communication to Newton accusing David Hilliard of stealing BPP funds and depositing them in foreign banks does have merit and the Bureau does not concur with San Francisco's observation that this would have little effect since there is no record that Hilliard is skimming large amounts of money. Purpose of counterintelligence action is to disrupt BPP and it is immaterial whether facts exist to

1 - 105-165706 (BPP)

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

ABF:mlm/bjr (20)

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Holmes
Gandy

970619 1970

UNRECORDED COPY FILED

Airtel to SAC, Baltimore et al
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
100-448006

substantiate the charge. If facts are present, it aids in the success of the proposal but the Bureau feels that the skimming of money is such a sensitive issue that disruption can be accomplished without facts to back it up.

Accordingly, Detroit immediately furnish Bureau and San Francisco with specific suggestions and wording to this effect and San Francisco should then review same and submit specific proposal in this regard for approval by Bureau.

With respect to two anonymous letters proposed by Los Angeles, Bureau concurs with San Francisco that to include the card of a member of a rival black extremist group in a letter to Hilliard indicating Newton is marked for assassination could place the Bureau in the position of aiding or initiating a murder by the BPP. Accordingly, Los Angeles' proposal identified as "letter A" is not approved. Los Angeles should reword this letter to convey the same thought without directly indicating that it is from a specific member of a rival group. The letter could imply that the writer would soon get in touch with Hilliard to see what he would pay to have Newton eliminated. Resubmit the revised letter to the Bureau for approval.

Concerning the second anonymous letter identified as "letter B" submitted by Los Angeles to be directed to Newton apparently from dissident and expelled Los Angeles BPP members and aimed at undercutting previous leadership, this proposal is authorized. Los Angeles mail same in such a manner that it cannot be traced to the Bureau. Advise Bureau and San Francisco when mailed and of any positive results.

Airtel to SAC, Baltimore et al
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
100-448006

NOTE:

In view of the recent release from jail of BPP leader Newton, counterintelligence proposals to disrupt BPP leadership were solicited from several offices. Subsequently, the comments of San Francisco as office of origin were requested. Suggestions by Baltimore, Detroit, New Haven, and Washington Field were general in nature and these offices are being requested to submit specific suggestions for approval. One of the two specific proposals submitted by Los Angeles is being approved while the second is denied because of possible embarrassment to the Bureau. The approved Los Angeles proposal is an anonymous letter to Newton welcoming him back and indicating the writers had left the BPP because Hilliard and other leaders were only interested in themselves and not in revolution.

FBI

Date 9/18/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448005)
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-531)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Buairtel 7/20/70.

Approximately 100 of the postcards described in referenced airtel were mailed the end of July, 1970, to various businesses, organizations, individuals, local churches, news media and other black oriented or militant groups.

No information was received as to their effect and neither sources nor informants have made any reference to this material.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Boston
MEL:maf
(3)

EX-102

REC-40

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Approved: 5 OCT 12 1970 Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

215

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/2/70

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12448) P*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

90-Day Progress Letter

ReBulet, 9/11/70, to Kansas City, instructing submission of quarterly Counterintelligence proposals and progress letters as to Sons of Malcolm (SOM), a small Kansas City, Missouri, black militant group, indicated as successor organization to the defunct Black Panther Party (BPP) Chapter, which disbanded about 4/20/70.

There is no pertinent information to report at this time as a basis for proposed counterintelligence action. SOM has been practically inactive since May, 1970, though its location was moved in July, 1970, from 2221-23 Lydia, to 1507 East 18th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.

A publicized reason for the stated group inactivity of SOM (such as postponement of a possible school breakfast program) was the upcoming [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] appeal procedures may require months. A news release on 9/2/70 by an SOM member indicated SOM energies would be devoted primarily to efforts of keeping [REDACTED] free and apparently of rendering assistance in connection with his appeal.

A letterhead memorandum covering SOM, dated 9/28/70, has recently been submitted for Bufile 157-17358 (SOM).

12-Bureau (RM)
2-Kansas City
HKJ:jmm
(4)

REC-23

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11 OCT 7 1970



OCT 13 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

216

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 5 1970

TELETYPE

NR003 101 CODE

253PM URGENT 10-5-70 CLS

TO DIRECTOR 130-448206

FROM MIAMI 157-2414 2P

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *[Signature]*
DATE *4-5-71 RYH*

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, BLACK AFRO MILITANT MOVEMENT
(GAMM). RM. RACIAL MATTERS

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OTHERWISE.

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson | _____ |
| Mr. DeLoach | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Casper | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Gale | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Miss Holmes | _____ |
| Miss Gandy | _____ |

[Redacted] ADVISED AS
FOLLOWS TODAY--

[Redacted] WHICH IS NOW INACTIVE, *[Redacted]*

[Redacted] RESIDED AT SAME ADDRESS UNTIL RECENTLY WHEN SHE
MOVED BECAUSE OF FRICTION BETWEEN *[Redacted]*
[Redacted] HAS VERBALLY THREATENED HER ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS
AND ON *[Redacted]*

[Redacted] NO INJURIES SUSTAINED. *[Redacted]*

OCT 8 1970

END PAGE ONE

ENCLOSURE

217

[REDACTED]

MM 157-2414

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

THE ABOVE OFFERS AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR
LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO INTERVIEW [REDACTED]
OBTAIN A SEARCH WARRANT AND SEARCH THE [REDACTED] RESIDENCE
AT THE TIME OF THE ARREST.

MIAMI CAN MAKE THE ABOVE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND SHOULD RESULT IN DISRUPTION OF [REDACTED]
ACTIVITIES. THE BUREAU IS REQUESTED TO SUTEL MIAMI
AUTHORITY TO NOTIFY LOCAL AUTHORITIES REGARDING [REDACTED]
THE ABOVE.

B, 1/15

[REDACTED]

218

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

10/5/70

Attached relates to possible police
action against [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] a Black, violence-prone organiza-
tion).

We concur with Miami's recommendation
that [REDACTED] who is the
[REDACTED] Miami stated [REDACTED] would not disclose
[REDACTED] relationship with Bureau.

This will definitely assist in
curtailing activities of [REDACTED]
therefore, Miami is being granted
approval by teletype.

JOI/csh

S.K.

h

Classified by [REDACTED]
Exempt from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

REC-43

REC-43

5 219

10-6-70

CONFIDENTIAL

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC MIAMI (157-2414)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-448006) —

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, BLACK AFRO MILITANT MOVEMENT (BAMM), RACIAL MATTERS.

REMITTEL THIS DATE.

BUREAU APPROVAL GRANTED FOR INFORMANT TO NOTIFY LOCAL
AUTHORITIES REGARDING THE COMPLAINT AGAINST

ADVISE BUREAU OF RESULTS.

JOI:bad (3)

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OTHERWISE.

OCT 6 1970

TELETYPE

NOTE:

Miami advised by teletype dated 10-5-70 that

a violence-prone organization, had
No injuries
sustained by

Miami
advised that this offers an excellent opportunity for local
authorities to interview and to obtain a search warrant
and search the residence at the time of arrest.
according to Miami, would be made available for interview
without disclosing and would
result in the disruption of activities. On informative
note placed on original referenced teletype it was stated this
action would definitely assist in curtailing activities of
and Miami would be granted approval by teletype.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Crennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97004121970 TELETYPE UNIT

FBI

Date: 9/30/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (157-3214)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *Handwritten*
DATE *4-3-71* *Thompson*

ReBuairtel to San Francisco, 9/9/70.

Detroit's proposal regarding stealing of BPP funds
by DAVID HILLIARD could be accomplished as follows:

By directing a letter addressed to NEWTON which should
be mailed from Sweden. San Francisco would be in a better
position to determine how a letter should be addressed to get
to NEWTON. Mailing could be handled by Legat or by SA's
assigned to guarding planes. *Sy*

The letter itself would be from a deserter from the
California area who got drafted and deserted. Deserter is a
black power advocate and was associated with BPP movement in
California. San Francisco could possibly supply data of known
hangouts of BPP members where deserters and homosexuals might
also frequent. He is now residing in Switzerland and awaiting
the day of the revolution so he can return to the United States
and help "kill the pigs". In the letter the fictitious deserter

2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco (157-3214)
2 - Detroit
TEA:PMR
(6)

REC-53

30 OCT 2 1970

2006
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OTHERWISE.

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: *157-3214*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

PRINTING OFFICE : 1065 O - 548-000 (11)

[REDACTED]

would indicate he has become acquainted with and has an affair going with a homosexual who works in a Swiss bank handling numbered accounts. The letter could further indicate the homosexual's great admiration for HUEY NEWTON and NEWTON's alliance with the Gay Liberation Movement. The homosexual was attracted to the deserter when he noticed deserter with a copy of the Black Panther newspaper. Through relationship deserter has ascertained that HILLIARD has a numbered account and has a considerable amount of money "stashed" away. Homosexual has not mentioned amount, however, deserter concerned whether HILLIARD is stealing from BPP thereby forestalling the revolution or whether this is the way "NEWTON" has set up to "stash" funds.

Deserter could indicate that he suspects homosexual may be in contact with HILLIARD on a periodic basis as homosexual seems to have access to obtaining BPP newspapers.

Letter could end with deserter stating he would not identify himself in case letter did not reach NEWTON's hands. Letter should be couched in obscenities and LPP phraseology.

10/8/70

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]

To: SACs, Detroit (157-3214)
San Francisco (157-785)

REC-53 EX-102

From: Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM

ReDEairtel 9/30/70.

San Francisco is instructed to comply with requests of Detroit set out in reairtel.

When information received from San Francisco, Detroit should prepare suggested letter and submit to Bureau for approval. Detroit insure no other steps taken regarding mailing of this letter until Bureau approval is received.

GTT:sef
(6)

NOTE:

Detroit suggested mailing of letter to Huey Newton, head of BPP, purportedly written by deserter regarding theft of BPP funds by another leader. Detroit requested details from San Francisco prior to preparation of letter for Bureau approval.

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Bishop _____
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Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
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Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 OCT 13 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

2007

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/8/70

FROM : SAC, New Haven (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re New Haven quarterly letter dated 10/7/70.

At the [REDACTED] BPP and sympathizers held almost daily demonstrations on the New Haven Green. During the past two weeks, BOBBY SEALE has been in Superior Court for preliminary motions prior to his trial. During this two-week period, no significant demonstrations in support of SEALE have taken place in New Haven, Conn.

According to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on 10/7/70, that SEALE, in a violent outburst several nights ago in his jail cell, threw his TV set against the wall and for the remainder that night mumbled phrases such as, "I am forsaken," and, "I have no support." Ciercierski also advised this date that SEALE had not one Black Panther in the courtroom during the morning session of his court proceedings.

New Haven feels it would be timely to mail an anonymous letter to SEALE calling attention to the fact that fellow Panthers have forsaken him in order to drive a wedge between SEALE and nationals.

Following is a draft of the proposed letter which San Francisco would forward to SEALE, contingent upon Bureau approval of same:

2-Bureau
1-San Francisco (info)
1-New Haven
IMG/lrf
(4)

REGISTERED MAIL

EX-102
REC-2
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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

224

NH 157-785

Dear Bobby:

Blood, (Black revolutionary word for close friend), don't think for a minute that there isn't a reason for your sacrifice, but now that we have Huey, a beautiful man, you are not needed as greatly to lead the Party. We all say that you are right-on, but you understand the cause.



(This letter should be printed with a few mistakes in spelling and punctuation.)

The above letter should be sent to SEALE at the State Jail, Montville, Connecticut.

10/16/70

airtel

EX-112

1 -
1 -
1 -

To: SACs, New Haven (157-785)
San Francisco

From: Director, FBI ^{REC-125} (100-448006) -

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReMilet 10/8/70.

Authority granted for San Francisco to anonymously mail letter set forth in referenced letter to Bobby Seale at the State Jail, Montville, Connecticut. The signature, [REDACTED] should be deleted from the end of the anonymous letter. Take precautions to insure mailing is not traced to the FBI.

New Haven and San Francisco keep Bureau advised of positive results obtained from anonymous mailing.

WHL:BNH
(3)

RE: [REDACTED]

Bobby Seale, National Chairman of the Black Panther Party, is currently incarcerated in the State of Connecticut awaiting trial in local court on charges stemming from the murder of another Black Panther Party member. [REDACTED] that Seale, in a recent violent outburst in his jail cell, threw his T.V. set against the wall and muttered, "I am forsaken," and "I have no support." On 10/7/70, no Black Panther Party members appeared in court to support Seale during his appearance there. New Haven recommends a proposed anonymous letter be

Tolson _____
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Brennan, C.D. _____
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Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

50 OCT 22 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

NOT CONTINUED PAGE TWO
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OTHERWISE.

Airtel to New Haven and San Francisco
Counterintelligence Program
Black Nationalist - Hate Groups
Racial Intelligence
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

mailed from San Francisco to Seale indicating that now that Huey Newton is free, Seale's difficulties with the law are no longer too important to the Party. New Haven's suggested letter from [REDACTED] states that Seale's sacrifice for the Party is appreciated, however, his release from jail is not paramount now that Huey Newton is out of jail. [REDACTED] is being deleted from the letter since the letter should be anonymous. [REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-1000)

DATE: 10/12/70

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520) - [REDACTED]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *Confidential*
DATE 4-2-71 865/CDH

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM;
BLACK NATIONALIST-WHITE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Baltimore letter, 9/4/70 and Bureau airtel
9/16/70.

1. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

[REDACTED]

A mailing list is being compiled from names
and addresses of religious and civic organizations
and individuals, who have been contacted by the FBI for
aid and this list will be utilized in mailing copies
of the sample leaflet received from the New Haven
Office.

2. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

No operations of the Black Nationalist White
Groups are being effected at this time.

3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

There are no tangible results evidenced
from the operations of this program at this time.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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OTHERWISE.

REC-49

EX-113

16 OCT 12 1970

2-Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)

1-Baltimore

JJC:ba

(3)

Classified By 2040
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

RACIAL INT. SECT.

SECRET 1970

4/2/77 EF6/1 CONFIDENTIAL

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

228

100-2-00

4. DEVELOPMENTS OF COMINT/INTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Activities of informants who are reacting on
past activities are being closely followed in order to take
any further action. Information received regarding [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] which could
be of assistance in past activities in Baltimore.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 10/9/70

FROM

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel, dated 10/1/70, a xerox copy of which is enclosed for the New York Division.

WILKINS' allegations that NEWTON's policies are not aimed at improving conditions of the Negro race have already been printed in the 9/26/70, issue of "The Black Panther" and obviously the allegation is now known to members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and people who regularly purchase the newspaper.

It would appear that exploitation of the difference between ROY WILKINS and HUEY NEWTON might be best exploited through a media aimed at those people who do not regularly have access to "The Black Panther." San Francisco at present does not have contact with a newspaper columnist of national stature. It is suggested that possibly the Bureau or the New York Office would have a contact of such stature, such as [REDACTED] who could comment and publicize the differences between the conservative ROY WILKINS and HUEY NEWTON of the BPP.

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REC 19

EX-114

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - New York (Enc. 1) (RM)
 - 1 - San Francisco
- LSB:lcj
(4)

OCT 12 1970

10/10

230

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

10/13/70

Airtel

To: SACs, Los Angeles
San Francisco

1 - Mr. Shackelford
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

From: Director, FBI (100-448006); (100-449698)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
SECURITY MATTERS

Re LA airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) 9/23/70 captioned "Black Panther Party, Los Angeles Division, Racial Matters," and New York airtel and LHM 9/23/70 captioned "Travel of U.S. Delegation to North Korea and North Vietnam, July-August, 1970, Led by Eldridge Cleaver, IS - Miscellaneous."

Referenced Los Angeles LHM sets forth information from [REDACTED]

MAILED 23
OCT 13 1970
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
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Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
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JFM:rrd/bj
(12)

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REC 19

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE
OCT 13 1970

EX-103

970632 1970 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

831

Airtel to SAC, Los Angeles et al
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS;
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
100-448006; 100-449698

[REDACTED]

The domination of [REDACTED] over BPP and other delegations; the virtual subjugation of the BPP to his direction; the minimizing of BPP as motivating force behind the purpose of the delegation; the resulting loss of favorable BPP publicity; the virtual snubbing and inability of Huey Newton to exercise any influence or direction; the ingratitude of [REDACTED] and delegation to Cleaver; the general mismanagement of a golden opportunity by [REDACTED] and the possible control of the entire delegation and BPP by a foreign nation, such as China, through puppet [REDACTED], suggests above situation ideal for application of hard-hitting counterintelligence effort to embarrass Panthers and members of this delegation as well as alienating same. Consistent with above, recipient offices are requested to submit recommendations concerning above for use under captioned program.

Referenced Los Angeles LHM also indicates Cleaver was not overjoyed with Brown's adulatory report of Huey Newton's successful impact on Panthers. His jealous concern that he may become a lessening influence is suggested and appears exploitable in our continuing efforts to disrupt BPP leadership. Recipient offices are also requested to submit appropriate recommendations in this regard for use under captioned program.

Handle promptly.

Airtel to SAC, Los Angeles et al
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS;
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
100-448006; 100-449658

NOTE:

Information in referenced Los Angeles LHM furnished by sensitive source coverage on Los Angeles BPP. [REDACTED] is [REDACTED] Los Angeles BPP who represented BPP on ten-man U.S. Peoples' Anti-Imperialist Delegation composed of liberals and radicals among whom was [REDACTED] Delegation was allegedly sponsored by International BPP and Eldridge Cleaver, fugitive BPP leader, led them while abroad in visiting Moscow and the other countries. Requested information may be basis for counterintelligence mass media article.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

10/13/70

Airtel

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

The Bureau is considering a counterintelligence measure calculated to create a split between top level leaders of the BPP. This counterintelligence proposal arises from information recently furnished by [REDACTED] who advised among other things that Huey Newton appears to be nothing but a puppet among the party hierarchy and his position cleverly being subverted by David Hilliard. Details of [REDACTED] concerning Newton's status with party is contained in Dallas airtel captioned "Black Panther Party - Racial Matters" dated 9/28/70 copy of which was sent your office.

We feel that the information furnished by [REDACTED] is an indication that Newton is being manipulated by Hilliard and the Bureau is considering preparing an anonymous letter appearing to be from a concerned Panther which will be sent to [REDACTED] who will undoubtedly make contents known to Huey. This letter will contain sufficient information to plant the seed of doubt in Huey Newton's mind and is being sent to [REDACTED] as it is felt that a letter directly to Huey would be intercepted.

Promptly submit your recommendations and observations concerning above counterintelligence proposals

1 - 105-165706 (BPP)

RLR:rrd
(1C)

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NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. C. D. Brennan, captioned "Counterintelligence Program - Black Panther Party, dated 10/2/70, prepared by RLR:rrd.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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Felt _____
Gale _____
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Tavel _____
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Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

TO DIRECTOR
FROM MIAMI 157-2414 2P

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, COPY OF BLACK YOUTH [REDACTED]

RM - Racial Matter

REFERENCE IS MADE TO BUFILE ONE FIVE SEVEN-ONE SEVEN
SEVEN THREE ONE, WHICH CONTAINS A NUMBER OF ARTICLES AND
LETTERHEAD MEMORANDA CONCERNING COPY WHICH HAS BEEN UNDER
INVESTIGATION BY THE MIAMI OFFICE SINCE JUNE NINETEEN
SEVENTY. [REDACTED]

MIAMI, ADVISED TODAY THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO DO A [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ON COPY TO BE INCORPORATED IN THEIR
EVENING NEWS PROGRAMS ON TWO OR THREE SUCCEEDING NIGHTS.

THE OCT. THIRD ISSUE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
NEWSPAPER, PAGE EIGHT, IN AN ARTICLE CAPTIONED, "FREE THE
COPY FIVE", IS ONE OF THE FIRST ITEMS TO APPEAR IN THIS
PAPER RELATING TO BLACK MILITANTS IN SOUTH FLA.

REC-34

EX-103

MIAMI REQUESTS BUREAU AUTHORITY TO MAKE AVAILABLE THE
ARTICLE THAT APPEARED IN THE BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER AUG. 13 1970
OTHER INFO ON COPY FROM PUBLIC SOURCE MATERIAL.

END PAGE ONE

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DATE 11-17-01 BY 10471

725

MM 157-2414

PAGE TWO

IT IS NOTED THAT [REDACTED] HAS WORKED WITH THE MIAMI OFFICE
IN THE PAST ON A NUMBER OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROBLEMS
RELATING TO BLACK AND WHITE HATE GROUPS. INFO CAN BE
FURNISHED ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS WITHOUT ANY EMBARRASSMENT
TO THE BUREAU.

END

W.S.C.

236

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 -

10/13/70

TO: SAC, Miami (157-17731) REC-84
FROM: Director, FBI (100-443003) -

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
IDENTIFICATION OF HATE GROUPS EX-103

Re Miami 10/9/70.

Bureau authority granted to make available to [redacted] the 10/3/70, issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper containing article regarding the recent arrest of Cry of Black Youth (COBY) members at Belle Glade, Florida. You may call to the attention of the [redacted] other public source material that he may gather and use for [redacted]

Attention is also directed to Miami teletypes 8/27/70, entitled, "Fire Bombing of Tiny's Liquors, Belle Glade, Florida, 8/25/70, Racial Matter" and Miami teletype 9/2/70, entitled, "Attempted Fire Bombing of Alabama - Georgia Store, Belle Glade, Florida, 9/2/70, Racial Matter." Five bombs were thrown at these two businesses resulting in substantial loss by white owners. Owners had been approached by COBY members for donations. One owner received telephone call from young male stating "you're next," when owners did not make donation.

[redacted] may desire to have live interview with some white businessmen in the Belle Glade area.

Insure Bureau is not divulged as source and advise Bureau of results.

1 - 157-17731 (Cry of Black Youth, Racial Matters)

JOI:sem
(5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

- Tolson _____
- Sullivan _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Brennan, C.D. _____
- Callahan _____
- Casper _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Tavel _____
- Walters _____
- Soyars _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

97 OCT 28 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

237

Airtel to Miami
Re: Counterintelligence Program
100-148006

NOTE:

to do [REDACTED] on COBY and these reports
are to be incorporated in evening news program on two or
three succeeding nights. [REDACTED] has worked with Miami Office
in past on number of counterintelligence programs relating
to black and white hate groups. [REDACTED] states information
can be furnished to [REDACTED] on a confidential basis with no
embarrassment to Bureau. COBY is an organization of young
Negroes in the Belle Glade area organized during May, 1970.
They contend they are non-militant and their aim is to
promote cultural awareness and solidarity throughout black
community. Some COBY members were arrested in September, 1970
for interfering in city elections at Belle Glade, as well as
on state extortion statutes. Legal assistance has been
provided by a legal group in Belle Glade receiving funds
from Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). We have previously
disseminated activities of this group to Criminal Division,
Civil Rights Division, and Internal Security Division of the
Department, as well as OEO. Regarding extortion activities,
the Criminal Division has advised there is insufficient
evidence to warrant investigation by FBI at this time, but
desire local action be followed.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44806)

FROM : *fer/w* SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 10/7/70

Re: New Haven letters to Bureau, 6/4/70,
8/7/70, 8/12/70, 8/27/70, 9/23/70,
and 9/30/70.

The following is a 90-day summary of activities within
the New Haven Division related to the captioned program:

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

New Haven is awaiting designated time to resubmit the
following proposals to the Bureau for implementation:

- A. New Haven's proposal to the Bureau on 8/12/70
pertaining to the preparation of "Panther
Trial News" publication.
- B. New Haven's proposal of 8/7/70 in which leaflets
would be distributed to the Christian organizations
and universities depicting BPP anti-semitic and
un-Christian slogans used in various pieces
of BPP literature.
- C. New Haven's proposals of 6/4/70 and 8/7/70 re
leaflets depicting prominent black persons from
various walks of life carrying slogans that
relate the idea that violence was not used in
their climb of the ladder of success.

2 - Bureau
2 - New Haven
IMG:lec
(4)
REGISTERED MAIL

REC-80

100-44806-6

2 OCT 14 1970

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RECEIVED OCT. 14 1970



6 OCT 21 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

239

NH 157-785

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

- A. The leaflet entitled, "BPP TEN POINT PROGRAM" and "LIKE IT IS" has been distributed to all offices with BPP chapters or splinter groups.
- B. Mailing of anonymous Bureau counterintelligence article of 9/30/70 entitled, "Jews Fear Anti-Zionism of New Left."

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

During the Summer of 1970, [REDACTED] was ousted and [REDACTED] for his apparent disfavor with national leaders of the BPP. It was apparent that after the anonymous mailing of the counterintelligence letter suggested on 2/27/70, [REDACTED] started a steady decline in his popularity with the national leaders; namely, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

The results of counterintelligence shown in Part II of this communication is so recent that results have not been recognized by the New Haven Office.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTERESTS

It has been noted that on the past two occasions in which BOBBY SEALE has been brought to the Superior Court in New Haven, there has been no support from the BPP in the form of rallies or public gatherings. For a mediocre member as [REDACTED], the Panthers supported him with crowds in excess of 200 on each day during the latter part of his trial in New Haven. SEALE has not been afforded any support by BPP members in the form of demonstrations in or around the Courthouse. New Haven is presently formulating a counterintelligence proposal to be submitted to the Bureau under separate cover in an effort to highlight this lack of support by the BPP of one of their national leaders, BOBBY SEALE.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44806)

FROM

cal

SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785)

P

DATE: October

SUBJECT:

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re: Bureau airtel to New York and New Haven, 9/3
Enclosed for Los Angeles and San Francisco is one
copy each of referenced Bureau airtel.

[REDACTED] on 10/6/70 revealed
a search of the name [REDACTED]
there was no welfare activity with this individual.

On 10/6/70, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] advised his records revealed
information concerning one [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on 10/6/70 that he has heard talk th
[REDACTED] is on welfare in California and that [REDACTED] is not positive
but believes that it is San Francisco. The source could not g
any further information regarding this matter, but is almost
positive she is receiving money from that location.

[REDACTED] is presently using the address of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] has been reported to have lived at [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] has been reported to have lived at [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] has been reported to have lived at [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Los Angeles (Enc. 1)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 1)
- 3 - New Haven

IKG:lmg

(9)

REGISTERED MAIL

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OTHERWISE.

OCT 1 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly

241

NH 157-785

[REDACTED]

LOS ANGELES:

At Los Angeles, California

Contact local and state welfare offices and ascertain whether one [REDACTED], is receiving welfare checks from that area. Positive information should be immediately forwarded to the Bureau in adherence to referenced communication.

SAN FRANCISCO:

At San Francisco, California

Same lead as set forth for Los Angeles.

248

FBI

Date: 10/12/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1048000)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-7132)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RE (GEORGIA BLACK LIBERATION FRONT)

Reference Bureau airtel to Atlanta, 9/21/70.

Referenced airtel suggested exploitation of the relationship existing between the Georgia Black Liberation Front (GBLF) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Atlanta, Georgia. This suggestion was based on information contained in Atlanta report dated 9/11/70, captioned 'Georgia Black Liberation Front, RI, regarding a residence adjacent to Reverend RALPH D. ABRAHAM'S West Hunter Street Baptist Church being occupied by members of the GBLF. Reverend ABRAHAM of SCLC and the deacons of the Church wished the GBLF members to vacate the house but were unsuccessful.

On 9/28/70, [REDACTED]

② - Bureau (RM)
1 - Atlanta

REF:WEL
(3)

8-51
EX-113

100 Rm 806

8 OCT 12 1970

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RACIAL INT. SEC.

Approved: 60 OCT 14 1970
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

243

AF 100-7182

In view of the above information which appears to have solved the matter for SCLC and that the majority of the SCLC leaders are presently directing most of their efforts in connection with the Alabama Black Liberation Front, no action is being taken by Atlanta at this time in regard to referenced airtel.